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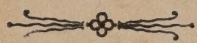
THE WAY TO SWARAJ

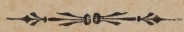
THE WAY TO SWARAJ



SPEECHES OF

DESABANDHU DAS

MADRAS, 1923



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PREFATORY NOTE

IN one sense, political controversies are evanescent. But if the protagonists are men with far-seeing vision and yet with their feet firmly planted on solid earth, their speeches even on controversial subjects have an abiding value.

Desabandhu Das came to Madras as the leader of a new school of thought in the Indian National Congress. Orthodoxy in the Congress rank was greatly perturbed. The Press was not over-friendly. And attempts were made to belittle his speeches and their effect on the audience. But the fact remains that, in spite of all these adverse influences, Mr. Das succeeded in raising the people of Madras from the quagmire of metaphysical disquisition and the slough of despondency into which they had fallen or had been thrown, and giving them a breath of the fresh air of the mountains, of a real nationalism and real work for Swaraj.

Does Mr. Vijayaraghavachari indulge in legal quibbles? Mr. Das answers him as a patriot and as a lawyer. Does Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar quote the Ramayana against Mr. Das? Mr. Das too has read the Ramayana to some purpose and quotes it with deadly

effect against Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Do Congress Committees here and there want to parade their differences from him? He is not afraid, but he asks them, "What have you done for Swaraj?"

In these speeches, the whole of Desabandhu's philosophy of Indian nationalism will be found expounded. The meaning of Swaraj, the philosophy of non-violent non-co-operation—what it means and what it does not mean—the distinction between Parliamentary Action and Direct Action. The Swarajya Party's programme of work inside the Councils, the significance of the constructive programme, the Brahmin—Non-Brahmin problem, and the part of Labour in India's struggle for Swaraj are all explained in a masterly way.

The Tamil-Nadu Swarajya Party believes that Congressmen all over India would like to read these speeches. It is in that belief that this book is published. The Party earnestly trusts that besides forming a valuable addition to nationalist literature in the country, it will also serve to quicken the desire for Swaraj in the Nation.

Madras,
September, 1923.

S. SATYAMURTI.

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HOBLI
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EDUCATIONAL
COUNCIL
MEMBER

DESABANDHU'S
FIRST SPEECH AT MADRAS, 1923.

MADRAS was looking forward to Desabandhu Das's first visit, and its expectations were more than fulfilled by Desabandhu's first speech. Misapprehensions and misunderstandings about his policy and programme are not unoften found in various places, thanks largely to a hostile press. But Mr. Das takes the bull by the horns. He is not apologetic in tone or halting in manner or doubtful in his lead. He has sacrificed his all for his country, such as no one else has. He knows his programme is the only practical political programme before the country. He knows the majority in the Congress are merely repeating meaningless *mantrams*. Above all, he knows that, thanks to the ineffectiveness of the Congress, the Bureaucracy are gaining in strength, while the people are losing. He is determined that this nation-killing process shall cease. And, to the extent to which it may be given to him, he will rouse the people, against their will, if need be, and lead them on to the royal road of Swaraj, from the quagmire of metaphysical disquisition and impotent hero-worship. This is the clarion call which is sounded in these speeches. He disclaims that he is either a rebel against the Congress or a prodigal son. But he does not mind even being called such names, for his justification is, "Not that he loves the Congress less, but that he loves the Country more." He explains, with first-hand knowledge, that the Congress has not yet called on the people to practise non-co-operation, but has only recommended certain preparatory steps. Further, no Congressman is a real non-co-operator, in the sense of not paying taxes to the Government.

He elaborately defends his programme of Council

entry and gives convincing arguments therefor. He explains how Civil Disobedience is impracticable in the present state of the country, and how the majority party is postponing it from day to day.

Is Council-entry against Non-co-operation? No, it is only another form of the same activity. Is Council boycott a sacred thing not to be touched? Mr. Das answers, "I assure you there is another thing which is more sacred than the Congress, and that is the liberty of the Indian people."

The Swarajya Party's programme of action within the Councils has come in for a good deal of criticism. Mr. Das explains his programme fully and clearly, and states, that he means to tear off the mask of these democratically elected bodies from the face of the autocratic Government, so that the people and naked autocracy may stand face to face, that he quite realises that Swaraj cannot be got through the Councils, but that it is impossible even to carry on the "constructive programme" without bending the Bureaucracy to the people's will, that his plan of action inside the Councils is not parliamentary, but direct action; and that these Councils, unless they are captured by Congressmen, will continue to be serious obstacles in the path of the Nation's freedom. He wants the country to fight the bureaucracy and that is why he has placed his programme before the country.

To those who lisp about Civil Disobedience from their arm-chairs—or khaddar cushions—he says in manly accents: "If Civil Disobedience ever comes, you will find me at the head of it." The speech had a most telling effect on the audience, and even the few who came to scoff remained to pray.

——o——

THE public reception accorded to Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das on his first appearance at the Triplicane Beach was indeed a magnificent one. The demonstration was of the first magnitude and the enthu-

siasm that was evinced by the gathering was striking. Hours before the appointed time, groups of men began to muster on the sands, despite the heat of the day and as the evening advanced, more were pouring in, with the result that when Mr. Das arrived, the already large mass swelled into a monster meeting.

All shades of opinion joined in the welcome, sinking their differences for the time being. The Congress organisations co-operated whole-heartedly and Congressmen of both the majority and the minority parties vied with one another in signifying by their presence their love and regard for Mr. Das. Not one of the different communities was left unrepresented and even Adi-Dravidas were in evidence. The labour population who had already made arrangements to present an address to Mr. Das were present in large numbers. And ladies, in unusually large numbers, graced the occasion with their presence, separate accommodation having been provided for them. The National Volunteers, particularly Gujarathi ones, were there in their full strength with their flags and banners which contributed much to the picturesqueness of the scene.

Mr. Das, accompanied by Mr. Phookan arrived on the marina a little before six o'clock, and the news of their alighting from the car was a signal for the people cheering, which they kept on till Mr. Das and party made their appearance on the platform. Mr. Das acknowledged the greetings gracefully in the true Indian fashion and took his seat.

Addresses of welcome were read on behalf of the Mahajana Sabah, the Khilafat Committee, the Tamil-

Nadu Swarajya party, the District Congress Council and the Amarkala Vilasini Sabah, referring in high terms of praise to the unparalleled sacrifices and the meritorious services of Mr. Das in the cause of the country.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar opened the proceedings with a request to Mr. V. Ramadoss to take the chair. "We are met here to-day," he said, "to do honour to that Prince of Patriots, Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das and to mark our appreciation of the great and unparalleled sacrifices that he has made for the sake of our motherland and of the dedication that he has made of his all, his life, his energy, his spirit and practically everything he can call his own at the service of his country for the attainment of its liberty. (Cheers) This meeting has been convened under the auspices of all political parties in the city to welcome him and for us to have an opportunity of hearing his message as the head of the Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress."

Mr. V. Ramadoss who then took the chair made a few preliminary remarks. He said that ever since the Gaya Congress, Mr. Das had tried to give a right lead to the country and put life once more into the Congress programme. Bengal had always been the forerunner in the building up of nationalism in this country and to-day Mr. Das was the foremost exponent of that theory of nation-building. He had realised the need for spiritualising their politics and his message to-day would doubtless be inspiring. He then called

upon the different public bodies to present their addresses to Mr. Das.

The Addresses.

The Mahajana Sabah had the honour of presenting the first address which was in the following terms :—

Beloved Countrymen,—As the oldest National political organisation of this Province, the Madras Mahajana Sabha deems it a great and proud privilege to welcome you to this, historic city. The Madras Mahajana Sabha numbers among its past and present members, many of the elder Congressmen of this Presidency who have made their mark in the service of the Motherland. The activities of the Sabha have always been associated with the great National movement of the Congress and with the advances made in the views and aspirations of the country during its progress. It is with no small satisfaction that it hails this, your first visit to this province, as the starting point in the renewed struggle for Swaraj that is in prospect before us all. Your sacrifices have been such as to find few parallels in the history of national struggles. Your dynamic energy, activity, your sleepless patriotism and yearning for Swaraj, your generous dedication of your all for the liberation of the Motherland that has so impressed the imagination of the country, will, we have no doubt, achieve the consuming purpose of your life, namely, Swaraj for India.

May God, the giver of all, grant you the health, the life and the resources that will enable you to serve for ever the Motherland in the same glorious way in which you have done in the past.

Mr. C. Gopala Menon, the President, read the Address and garlanded Mr. Das.

Mr. Abdul Latif Saheb who followed presented a Urdu address, printed on Khadder, on behalf of the City Khilafat Committee, expressing similar sentiments.

The Tamil Nadu Swarajya party's address was read by Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar. It stated :

Esteemed and beloved Sir,—We, the members of the Tamil Nadu Swarajya Party deem it a great privilege to be able to offer you our most sincere and hearty welcome on this, your first visit to our city.

We are particularly happy that it has been found possible for you to visit our Province at this time and give our people the inspiration and guidance which you alone can give.

It is a common saying in our parts that the British Empire in India was first founded in our Province. May we express the hope that under your guidance it may be possible for our Province to claim that the foundation of India's Swaraj has first been laid here? (cheers.)

We speak but the bare truth when we say that your name is enshrined in the hearts of the millions of your country-men here.

We pray that under your leadership our Party may win success and help you in the realisation of what we know is your deeply-cherished ideal viz, immediate Swaraj for India.

Mr. K. Bashyam Aiyangar on behalf of the City Congress Council and on behalf of the Andhra Swarajya Party extended his warm welcome to Mr. Das.

The Amara Kala Vilasani Sabha presented an address in Sanskrit.

All these gentlemen one after another garlanded Mr. Das.

DAS'S SPEECH

Desabandhu Das rose amidst vociferous cheering and, putting aside the garlands which were heaped on him, addressed the gathering on the policy and programme of his party. Mr. Das spoke for one full hour and his speech was full of warmth and feeling and was heard with the closest attention. The speech from all accounts made a profound impression on the audience. He said :—

Sisters and brothers of Madras.—This is indeed my first visit, but if the shower of love which you bestowed upon me is sincere and genuine, I can assure you this is not going to be my last. We are on the eve of a great struggle and I sincerely hope Madras will not lag behind the other provinces of India. We are on the eve of a great struggle because, after two years of arduous task of non-co-operation, we feel we are asleep and have just begun to wake up. And I can assure you that that old activity upon which the freedom of this country may be said to be really based is not going to desert us, if we think of turning the direction of our activity just a little.

After the Gaya Congress was held, we formed a party within the Congress. We have been described by many phrases, which to my mind do not correctly describe us. But I have taken no exception hitherto, because I felt within my heart that whatever abuses

may be showered upon me, I was honest to myself, honest to the country, and honest to God. (Hear, hear and loud cheers). I felt within myself that it was up to me to proclaim to all India that the time had come for a change in the direction of our activity ; and I was sure that the country would listen to me. If the country has not entirely listened to me yet, I have not the least doubt nor hesitation in proclaiming to the world, that the country shall listen to me at no distant future.

Am I a Rebel ?

Gentlemen, I have been called a rebel. (Laughter) Not that I disapprove of rebellion very much. (Renewed laughter). The whole of the non-co-operation activity was a rebellion. It was a silent non-violent rebellion, and I have ever been a rebel in my heart of hearts. I have rebelled against all forms of tyranny. If that appellation means that I rebelled against the tyranny of the Congress, I accept that appellation as a correct one for me. I am a rebel, because I have got the courage to proclaim what my view is. But if it is implied that I am going against the interests of the Congress, I deny that charge in toto. No person is eligible to be a member of our party unless he is a member of the Congress. I want you to tell me in what way I have rebelled against the Congress. I have not gone away from the Congress. I am still within the Congress. I am making my propaganda in order to induce the Congress to listen to me. The Congress has half listened to-day, and to-morrow it will listen fully, because there is truth in what I say and not because of my great personality ; I am nothing ; but the cause

I represent,—call it rebellion or revolution or by whatever name you like—the cause which I hold dearer than my life—is bound to triumph in the end.

I have been called a rebel, because, I have disobeyed the mandate of the Congress. May I ask since when has this new-fangled notion of democracy started? (Laughter.) When was it ever held in any democratic country, in any book or treatise on democracy, that in your personal capacity you cannot act contrary to what the Congress has laid down? In fact, the founder of this great movement of non-co-operation—Mahatma Gandhi (loud and continuous cheering) has over and over again pointed out the tyranny of the majority and the right of the minority to go counter to the resolutions of the Congress. Only the minority should not act in the name of the Congress. Have I done anything in the name of the Congress? Have I misrepresented matters? I have rebelled against one decision, because I know that decision is wrong. But have I ever told a single man or voter that the Congress has decided that we should go to the Councils? Have I ever told anybody that I am going to enter the Councils as a Congress candidate? I have never done so; and I refuse to do so unless and until the Congress passes a resolution in my favour. I am no rebel; I am only fighting against the tyranny of the majority. I am no rebel; I am only holding forth the right of every individual in God's earth to put forward his best for the good of the country. I am no rebel; I choose the path which I feel is necessary for our countrymen to take in order to reach the goal of Swaraj.

The Prodigal Son

Then it is said that I am the prodigal son, (laughter) that nobody need take seriously and that I am bound to come back to the Congress. I am very much struck with their sympathy for the Congress, but I did something of my share to build up the Congress. When the fight was thickest, I believe I took some responsibility on my shoulders. I challenge any one to say if there is anybody in India, throughout the length and breadth of this vast country, whose love for the country and the Congress is dearer or greater than mine. (Hear, hear and applause) I am no prodigal son who went away from the Congress. I am still there. I am fighting for the prestige of the Congress. I am fighting for the victory of the Congress. I am pointing out to the Congress the path which will lead it from victory to victory and triumph to triumph. Is it enough, gentlemen, to pass resolutions and keep our eyes shut and do nothing? Why is the resolution on the "triple boycott," as it is called, so sacred that no Congressman would venture to touch a word of it? I ask you to look at the circumstances in the country. One fact is better than a hundred texts. Facts are more eloquent than hundreds of Resolutions put forward from Congress platforms. It is said "Oh! Do not touch non-co-operation. Do not touch a bit of it, lest the sacred tree may wither." But what is the kind of non-co-operation that you are doing? I ask you to look around and tell me what is the kind of non-co-operation that you are doing to-day—not merely saying. You glory in the fact that you have started the triple

boycott. What is the triple boycott ? Boycott of law Courts? Oh; the Law Courts are flourishing and flourishing like a green bay tree. Unless you can rouse the vitality of the people again, unless you can develop within them the spirit of resistance and of self-assertion without which nationalism must always remain dead, I am afraid these wicked things will go on flourishing, in spite of your paper resolutions repeated year after year. Then you say we boycott schools and colleges ; but the schools and colleges are flourishing. (laughter). In Bengal, I believe, we did most in this direction—I had some share in it—but even there at the present day schools and colleges are flourishing. The third of the triple boycott is the boycott of Councils. Lo and behold ! Councils are full to their utmost; so is the Assembly also. But we fools would not enter these Councils (laughter) but say " Oh yes we have practised the triple boycott. Don't you know the triple boycott?", we expand our breasts and we are satisfied, lie down and sleep.

The Comic Side

I want to ask you one serious question to-day. Do you or do you not mean to fight the Bureaucracy ? If you mean to fight the Bureaucracy, what is the good of passing resolutions which the country does not accept ? I am not against any one of these resolutions. I should love to see all those resolutions carried out in their very spirit and letter. I would like to see every Law court vacant, every Government school and college empty, and not one of our countrymen goes to those disgraceful Councils and the more disgracefu

Assembly. But what are the facts? Are we statesmen, or are we poets? Are we to rest content for ever with paper resolutions? Really, there is a comic side to our activity. When our strength was at the lowest, the Indian National Congress thought fit to pass a resolution disowning liability for future public debts. And when subsequently the Government call for loans from the public, more applications come in then than they could take. Surely there ought to be some common sense behind Congress resolutions.

Take the country on to the path of resistance; I am with you. But I do not want the Congress to indulge in empty threats and empty words which mean nothing. Then again may I draw your attention to the fact that even in the Congress Resolution passed at Nagpur—the wording of which has made it the classic Resolution on non-co-operation—the Congress has not yet called on the country to begin non-co-operation? Have you read it? My misfortune is that people take these things for granted. I ask you to read that Resolution. What does it say?

It says that non-co-operation, whether in whole or in parts, should be applied on a date to be fixed by the Congress or the All India Congress Committee, and that, in the meantime and in order to prepare the country for non-co-operation, certain steps should be taken. Therefore according to the Congress Resolution itself, non-co-operation has not begun. Why do you get so sensitive about it? You are not non-co-operating! Are any of you under the impression that you are non-co-operating? Pray, put that out of your

minds. If you think you are, I ask you in what sense are you non-co-operating? Is it in the Pickwickian sense? Do you non-co-operate with the Government when you give it all the money it wants? When you supply the grease to the Government machinery, why boast of stopping the machinery? And the cardinal point of non-co-operation is that you must take your hands off that machinery, so that it cannot run. But you are supplying the grease, the power and the steam and the machinery is going on. And yet you say you are non-co-operating. I really cannot understand how sober men, men of business, men who want not merely to indulge in words but to achieve freedom for the country, delude themselves into the belief that they are non-co-operating. They are not non-co-operating. But let us all try our best so that the time may come, and soon, when we may non-co-operate. And I am sure, surer than orthodox Congressmen, that the only ideal is our country's Swaraj and that the only method of attaining the same is non-violent non-co-operation. I am more certain of it to-day than I ever was, and I seriously want you to consider how you can generate that spirit, that enthusiasm, that power of resistance upon the basis of which alone non-co-operation is possible.

Council Entry

I now come to the question of Council entry. I am deeply grateful to my friends in the All-India Congress Committee for the compromise; because it will at any rate save us from appearing ridiculous by one part of the Congress fighting the election

contests and the other part going to the voter and telling him "do not vote." I do not shrink from a fight, if that is necessary; but I must express my gratitude to my friends for having spared the country that spectacle. Now about the Councils. There again people are busy about the future. "What can you do within the Councils? Has that not been tried?" My answer, is 'no.' What I want to do has not been tried. In the same way can you not say "Has not non-co-operation been tried?" Non-co-operation was more or less tried, even before it commenced under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Why? At Amritsar I preached total non-co-operation. And I was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi who was for total co-operation. Even before that non-co-operation was tried by strikes, at least as partially, as your non co-operation for the last two years. I am not comparing the two things. I freely admit that the volume of energy which in these two years was generated has really advanced our cause by twenty years. But let us not be blind to the actual facts and to our actual achievements. We have not non-co-operated. We have generated some spirit, the spirit which is going to wither and waste, if we have nothing to do. Tell me what is there by way of Congress propaganda to-day? What is being done? All the way from Bombay at different stations, Congress representatives came to see me. I put one question to every one of them. Is Congress work better or worse now? Every one had to admit that the work is absolutely nil—practically nil. So what is there to engage the attention of the patriot?

What is the fight you propose? Nothing at all. Do you think that the power of resistance will grow without any fight?

Civil Disobedience

You talk of Civil Disobedience. But if you start civil disobedience now, it will be dead before it is born. You ask me why? I say you cannot manufacture civil disobedience. You cannot go about saying, "Shall I break this law or that?" That is not civil disobedience. Civil disobedience comes when it must come. It comes when the people feel within themselves that call of a higher power and a higher law and feel the compulsion of that higher law. That is the time when civil disobedience will come; and it will not come one moment sooner, however much we may try. You may think we have boycotted the Councils on paper, and therefore we shall not go to the Councils. Similarly, let us say at any rate: "civil disobedience, civil disobedience, civil disobedience," to keep up the enthusiasm of the people (laughter). I know what will happen. It has been postponed from the end of April to the end of June. I do not demur, because I know that at the end of June it will again be postponed to in December. (laughter) And in December, if the orthodox view continues to prevail, it will again be adjourned to March: and again three months later, and so on.

Who is Right?

In the meantime, unless our party works things up, the spirit which was generated by two years of sacrifice, of patience, and hard work will be crushed to

death. I am not going to be a party to that. Do you blame me as a rebel? What do I care what you call me, when the fate of my country is in the balance, and when I feel that unless I act in the living present, to-day, this minute, it may be that the chances of Swaraj will be put back by twenty years? Am I going to be a criminal, because I am a rebel against the Congress? I would rather rebel against the Congress and any institution in India, if I felt that the realisation of the demand of Swaraj makes it necessary. I want Swaraj; I want my liberty; I am prepared to fight: I have not been a coward in my life. I want to fight, and if necessary I am prepared to lay down my life. Begin to-day; test me and I shall prove if I cannot come up to your standard. You may call me names. I am not going to waste my time. I give you the lead that I think is necessary for the country. You chose me as the President of the Congress twice. I expected that you would listen to me. I gave the lead in the clearest possible language; you do not choose to take it. Am I to sit idle? I must go on with the fight. It is only the future that will decide whether you are right or I am right.

Reasons for Council Entry

Now, what is the difficulty about entering the Councils? Does it offend non-co-operation? Well, I will not discuss that. The kind of non-co-operation we propose to do is truer non-co-operation than the other items already in it, the boycott of law courts, schools and colleges. Nobody has raised his little finger to enforce the boycott of the law courts or

educational institutions. Nobody, let me say, approves of it to-day and yet it was thought necessary to pass a resolution. If that is permissible, why do you shrink from entering the Councils ? You say it will be co-operation ; but I do not admit it. Are you not co-operating with the Government every minute of your life ? You are sending your children to the Government schools and colleges. You are filing cases in the British Courts of Law. You are encouraging pleaders. You are paying taxes. You are co-operating every day of your life. But why do you shudder when I talk of Councils ? Is it not due to something wrong in the mentality ? The facts I have stated show there is something wrong in your mentality. Entering the Councils, you say, is co-operation ; I say, no. Why do I say so ? If you return us in a majority, we can non-co-operate with the Government. Then you turn round and say "You will not be returned in a majority." I ask, whose fault is it ? You have instilled into the minds of the people the idea that going into the Councils is co-operation. You say that if you turn away from that idea in haste, you would not get a majority. That is slave mentality. There is another class of Congressmen who say we have no objection to Council-entry, but let the Congress give the mandate. There you see another instance of slave mentality. What is the Congress ? It is made up of men—of Congressmen. If Congressmen want it, they can get the mandate. It is inaction, laziness and refusal to think, that stand in their way and they shrink from the real problem which faces them. I have heard many of my friends

say, "We have no objection, to Council-entry: we understand your standpoint but we want a mandate from the Congress; without a mandate, what can we do? Our hands are tied." There is a story in Bengalee of a person who had a sword in one hand and a shield in the other and when the thief had broken open the house and carried off the valuables,he was asked, "What are you doing!" He replied, "Sir, what can I do? Both of my hands are full, I have the sword in one hand and the shield in other" (Laughter and cheers.) Congressmen also similarly say, "We appreciate your reasoning; but there is the Congress mandate." For God's sake, why do you not get the mandate altered? You are the Congress. If you believe it to be right, why do you not get the mandate? But no! Oh! No! "We cannot touch the sacred thing." I assure you there is another thing which is more sacred than even the Congress. That is the liberty of the Indian people. (Hear, Hear.) If you shrink from it, I am not going to shrink from it. I will try to take the people of the country into the path of resistance. I know they will follow me. After all, how many men are members of the Congress to-day? I have a larger field outside. There are sixty lakhs of voters. I am going to appeal to them. Their number is many times larger than the number of members of the Congress to-day.

What I Propose to do?

Let me tell you what I propose to do, and remove some of the misapprehensions which are circulated in the Press. Unfortunately, I have not a Press which I

can call my own to-day. And daily I have the melancholy satisfaction of finding my view misrepresented, my speech misquoted and all kinds of inuendoes and prejudices introduced against me. But even the worst thing has got to right itself sometime or other. It has been said that directly I came out of jail, I had told my friends that I was going to renew my practice. I left it at that. I knew that in spite of these misrepresentations, a day will come when my countrymen will believe that I do not intend to practice. Then it is said I am ambitious enough to become a Minister. (Laughter) That is an insult to me. One of the constitutional principles of the Swarajya party is that no member of the Party should accept any office under the Government. That is the basic principle of my party; and to say that I, who have started this party, am going to be a minister !! A more ridiculous lie, it is impossible to conceive. (Laughter) But there it is. An astute American said, "You let me start a lie half an hour in advance ; the ı see who succeeds most", and some newspapers in this country seem to follow his example. I assure them that no lie will succeed as against me. Because you have to deal with a man who is upright, a man who has got no self-interest to pursue, a man who knows what is right and what is wrong and a man who has the courage to do what he feels to be right. Therefore they may circulate all their lies ; I do not care. The time will come, when these lies will disappear like the morning mist before the sun.

A Dilemma

Now, I turn to what I want you to do. I want you to enter the Councils, in a majority and to put forward the national demand. If it is not accepted, I want to oppose the Government in every measure. Everything has got to be opposed. I want to see that they are not able to govern us through the Councils. Make the Government through the reformed Councils absolutely impossible. I am told however: "But then they will exercise their extraordinary powers. They will govern us without the Councils." My answer is: "Supposing your kind of boycott succeeds—there is not the slightest chance of success—you keep away every man from the polls and keep every one of the seats vacant, would not the Government then govern us without the Councils?" Your boycott does not put an end to the autocratic powers of the Government. So the result is the same, whether you go my way or you go your way. Either way puts an end to Government through the Reformed Councils and that is what we want. Do you know why I want this? I want to place the Government of this country in this dilemma, either to withdraw the reforms—these wretched reforms which we do not want—or to accept our demand. If our demand is accepted, you get rid of these reforms and begin the foundations of Swaraj. Do you think they will easily withdraw the reforms? No; they dare not. We do not like these reforms because they do not come up to our expectations. The Bureaucracy does not like them either. We pulled them

one way and they pulled them the other way and the reforms have taken a middle course. But why were these Reforms granted ? Do you think they are due to generosity on the part of the Parliament ? I am one of those—and that is the fundamental distinction between my views and Mahatmaji's—who do not believe in the generosity of Parliaments. I do not believe that at any time the Parliament will give you anything out of love or generosity. If these reforms were not liked by the bureaucracy, why were they introduced? Do you think the Parliament would have passed the Act, if they could have helped it ? No, they yielded to the popular demand, just so much as they thought they must yield. Therefore make your demand stronger ; and they will have to yield a great deal more. I challenge them to withdraw the reforms which were introduced as a result of the pressure of the popular demand. If they withdraw the reforms, I do not mind. I should like to tear this mask from their face and stand face to face with the Government of the country,—the power of autocracy and the power of the people ranged on opposite sides. I want that situation. It is only then that we shall realise our position. It is only then that the Moderates will join hands with us and it is only then there will be no single individual in this country who will not join us. Let us tear off the mask and stand face to face with the bureaucracy, and then will commence the glorious war between the people and the Government.

Swaraj Through the Councils

Then, other people, ask, is Swaraj to come from

the Parliament or the Councils ? They say that Mr. Das wants Swaraj through the Councils. I deny it in toto. I do not want Swaraj through the Councils. I am not such an idiot as to believe that Swaraj can ever come through the Councils. The Councils have not the power to give us Swaraj. What I do want is to fight the Bureaucracy from all directions. From inside the Councils I want to try to make its position impossible ; from outside the Councils I want to fight the Bureaucracy by working the non-co-operation programme more enthusiastically and putting greater life into it, than we are at present doing. Attack them from inside and outside. Have not the people of this country known me well ? However much my friends, the orthodox non-co-operators may disclaim me, are they separate from me ? Is the movement I have started separate from theirs ? We may put walls between us, but no such walls are there. The activity outside must react on the activity inside and vice—versa. It is one entire activity. It is one entire people. Divided, they may see in distorted visions, but, in fact and in truth, the whole of India is one people. The fight that is going on in this country is a fight between the bureaucracy and the people of India. Let my orthodox friends say what they like with regard to the principle of non-co-operation being hurt. I do not think it hurts the spirit of resistance, of self-denial and of non-co-operation. The fight with the Government makes that spirit stronger.

I do welcome the day when the outside activity and the inside activity put together will be too much for

even this Bureaucracy (Hear, hear). Why should I be called a rebel and why should I be called names because I want to generate that spirit in the heart of India which will crush this Bureaucracy ? We all want that. If you think that retiring into the jungles would be the wise way of boycotting the Councils, you may indulge in that delusion. But can you blame me if I cannot agree with you ? You say you want to boycott the Councils, but you know you will never succeed in inducing all the voters not to vote. Some people will go there.

A Different Standpoint.

Look at the question from a different standpoint. May I ask which way you will like me to turn ?

What way is there ? What field is there in India which is not covered by the Bureaucracy ? Which way will you look, which way will you go ? Even if you go to the jungles you cannot fell timber without paying taxes. (Laughter). Start national schools, start charka on a wider scale enthusiastically. There is that section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. I want you to know which way you will go.

Do you not realise, my sisters and brothers, that unfortunately for us we are slaves of slaves ? And to day in our national life there is no compartment, there is no room, not an inch, not one spot, which is free from the bureaucracy. Therefore he who thinks of developing our own institutions without fighting the bureaucracy displays an amazing ignorance of our real situation. You cannot build anything without displacing the bureaucracy. I do not quarrel with your

constructive activity. But I do know that this constructive activity will come to a dead-stop unless side by side and along with it you go on growing that spirit of resistance which alone can keep the national flag flying.

Direct Action.

Then some people say that I want Parliamentary action. Gentlemen, we are under the tyranny of words and phrases, and the more so because we copy those words and phrases from European treatises without understanding their application to our country. Many times I have had to answer this question. Do you prefer Parliamentary action to direct action ? They have learnt those two phrases. Let us investigate these two. Because it is this fog which makes it difficult for people to have a correct vision. What is Parliamentary action? It is improving the state of the country by passing such laws as are necessary for the amelioration of our conditions. Parliamentary action therefore requires a Parliament which can do it. Are the Councils such institutions ? Is the Assembly a Parliament ? No ; they are subordinate Legislatures. TheBritish Parliament can to-morrow alter their constitution,but the Assembly or the Councils cannot. What is the good of saying I am going to have Parliamentary action? Am I so foolish as not to understand the meaning of Parliamentary action ? I believe, I too know something of constitutional law. No, gentlemen. I do not aim at Parliamentary action. I aim at direct action, just as orthodox non-co-operators do. Only I do not exclude any field. I want a most rigid direct action outside the Councils

as also inside them. We have not got Sovereign Legislatures. Therefore all fields are open to us. I know I cannot get anything by legislation in these Councils or Assembly. But I can force the hands of the Government, just as orthodox non-co-operators want to do by non-co-operating from outside. I simply add another field to the one you have got.

Begin your Contest.

Having regard to the present situation, begin your contest with the Government, step by step. Begin first with the election disputes, for the Government is sure to pass orders against you. Begin the contest there; get into the Councils, try direct action, try to force the hands of the Government; put forward the energy, the unity, the enthusiasm and the spirit of resistance which you have acquired so far, and array all that against the Bureaucracy. It is only by your non-co-operation from outside and by my non-co-operation from inside, we shall be able to bend the Bureaucracy. Otherwise they will say, "You go to the jungles; there are men who will come into the Councils; they are our friends." They will be apologetic to the Government; they will thank the Government for a half or even a quarter of a loaf, take it, compliment themselves and say that they are fortunate. This thing will go on and it is a menace to your non-co-operation. Do you not see that? It is an obstacle to the path of freedom. Capture the seats in the Councilis, and persevere and persist in the field of non-co-operation which you intend to do. Only you are not doing it, half as much as I wish you to do it. You talk of Civil Disobedience. Let me remind you again

of what I mean by direct action. The sanction of direct action is violent rebellion. We people do not intend violence; but Civil Disobedience. We believe in non-violent non-co-operation. I know it, possibly more clerly than many of you know, that I intend direct action; and in the result of it, there will be a great massing of forces generated inside the Council, spreading out from the Council to the whole country, and forces from outside the country penetrating into the Council Chamber and the Assembly Hall. If the Government ventures to disregard the united will of the people, they will have sixty lakhs of voters to deal with. Who are these voters? These voters are the tax-payers. If you want to have Civil Disobedience, start the battle now.

Fight to a Finish

If the Government is foolish enough not to yield to the demands of the united people, you resign or absent yourselves from the Councils; let the Courts be deprived of lawyers and litigants; and the schools and colleges, of students. Appeal to the sixty lakhs of voters to stop paying taxes to the Government. Then only you can have civil disobedience. Now it is merely a phrase. A wordy fight, the Government does not mind, because they find behind your words there is no determination to carry the struggle through, and they find that you have left them at ease in their Councils. I do not want you to let them at ease anywhere, outside the Councils or inside them. Fight the good fight and fight them to the finish. Abuses! I can stand a lot of them. My shoulders are broad

enough to bear them. (Laughter). But fight the good fight and to the finish. Do not let the Bureaucracy remain at ease. Let them forge weapon after weapon. But fight the bureaucracy from everywhere, from every nook and corner of your national life.

And when it comes to the question of civil disobedience, if it ever comes at all—because I know of no Bureaucracy which does not yield when it finds an array of forces against it,—but if civil disobedience ever comes, you will find me at the head of it. (Loud and prolonged applause).

Vote of Thanks

Mr. S. Satyamurthi in an eloquent speech proposed a cordial and sincere vote of thanks to Mr. Das and Mr. Phookan. He said that this was a sacred day and it was worth having lived for. It was a privilege to meet and hear Mr. Das who had sacrificed his all for the sake of his country. He asked them to follow the lead given by Mr. Das.

Mr. Das thanked them for the various addresses presented to him and said that he regarded them as the index of the love which they bore towards him.

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THE PORTRAITS OF
LOKAMANYA TILAK AND MAHATMA GANDHI UNVEILED

Mr. Das's Tributes

AT the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Madras, Desabandhu Das unveiled the portraits of Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi which were presented to the Sabha by Messrs. C. Venkatarangam Naidu and A. R. Doraiswami Iyengar, respectively.

Mr. A. R. Doraiswamy Iyengar on behalf of himself and Mr. Venkatarangam Naidu requested Mr. Das to unveil the portraits.

Mr. Das

Before unveiling the portraits, Mr. Das said:

I feel proud that you should call upon me to unveil the portraits of two of the greatest men that ever lived in India. It is unnecessary for me to distinguish between the genius of the two men.

This is, I am told, one of the oldest of political associations in the country and its activities commenced when the Congress was not born. I have heard of these Mahajana Sabhas in other places also. At Poona, I had a reception from the Mahajana Sabha and Mr. Tilak's activities were associated with that Mahajana Sabha a great deal. With regard to the two men whose portraits you ask me to unveil to-day, all that I need say is, each one had a different message to give to India and each one was great in his nature. With Mr. Tilak is associated the doctrine that nobody could

make his country great, unless he was prepared to suffer and if necessary to die for it. With Mr. Tilak is associated all the splendid activity which never thought of individuals but always thought of the country to which these individuals belonged.

With regard to Mahatma Gandhi, all that I have got to say is, if there is one thing for which he will never be forgotten, it is this—that he was the first in the field of politics to stand on truth. (applause). I remember that famous speech of his, which he made on the sea-beach here on the very day, or the day after, some member in Parliament put a question as to why Mahatma Gandhi who was spreading disaffection had not been arrested. His answer was most emphatic. He said those memorable words, which I do not remember exactly, but the words were almost these. "Yes, it is my duty to preach sedition. I will preach sedition. I am preaching sedition, because it is my duty to preach sedition against this wicked or Satanic Government."

It is that attitude which one may say is somewhat new in the politics of this country—viz. there is no attempt to hide anything that is done. That attitude is clear, it is bold, and the whole of it is based on truth and nothing but the truth (hear, hear). It is true we are spreading disaffection against the Government, for is not truth greater than Bureaucracies? And if that be an offence, well, you can do what you like with us. It is this great principle which he has introduced into Indian politics.

Both these men are eminently great, both will

live in history and both will be associated with all the forces which are tending towards the creation of the great Indian nation. (loud cheers).

With these words Mr. Das unveiled the portraits amidst loud applause.

Mr. C. Gopala Menon as President of the Mahajana Sabha in accepting the portraits expressed the hope that they would be a source of inspiration and courage to the members of the Sabha.

AT THE AYURVEDIC PHARMACY

DESABANDHU DAS paid a visit to the Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy. Dr. N. V. Sriramacharlu, the Senior Physician of the Pharmacy read an address of welcome.

"One of the Sciences which had attained a high degree of perfection," the address stated, "is the system of Ayurvedic medicine. Your activities have been chiefly confined to the cause of political advancement of our Motherland and Countrymen. We believe that side by side with Political advancement it is necessary to develop our national institutions and our ancient Arts and Sciences. Believing as we do that true patriotism and healthy development can take place only by the resurrection of all our Arts and Sciences, we have been endeavouring in our own humble way to develop and perfect the Ayurvedic System and Siddha Dravidian System of Medicine, in which we find by experience there are priceless treasures for the eradication of disease with which no Western Medicine can even stand comparison."

Mr. Das expressed his thankfulness for the reception and said that with the birth of the Non-co-operation movement India's national soul had been stirred to its depths, and that there was an awakening in every walk of national life and activity. He hoped that the indigenous system of Ayurveda would flourish in all its glory and that the European Doctors would not hesitate to borrow what it has to reveal to them.

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MADRAS LABOURERS

Desabandhu Das is the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and as such, has a special message to deliver to Labour all over India. That message he delivers. in characteristic style and form, in the following address to the labourers of Madras. He warns them against those candid friends of theirs, who advise them to keep away from politics in the hope that the classes will win Swaraj for them. He tells them they are the country, and they must take their rightful place in the struggle for Swaraj. He brushes aside the argument based on European history by insisting that, even to-day in Europe the masses have not got their freedom. Then he refers to the Non-Brahmin movement, says he has no sympathy for the Brahmins, and would like to have the Brahmins brushed if they stand in the way of the country's freedom, and gives sound advice to the Labourers to exercise their votes properly in the ensuing elections. They should ask those who want their votes—are you prepared to fight the bureaucracy? He concludes his powerful address to the labourers by asking the question, "Are you going to sell your country, or are you going to be true to your honour? Let your votes in the coming elections give the answer." Many voters besides Labourers may profitably take this advice.

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DESABANDHU DAS was accorded a splendid reception by the citizens and labourers of North Madras. Owing to pressure of engagements Mr. Das arrived late; still the large crowd that had collected all along the Tiruvottiyur High Road patiently waited to do honour to the great leader.

Mr. Das accompanied by Mr. Phookan arrived at Washermanpet at 7-30 P.M. From the Railway gate they were taken in procession through the Thiruvottiyur High Road to Tondiarpet. On the way several people profusely garlanded Mr. Das. The national volunteers who were present in large numbers kept the crowd in perfect order.

After the procession, an open-air meeting was held in the maidan behind Somu Chetty's Choultry.

Two addresses of welcome (Tamil and Telugu) were then read on behalf of the labourers and citizens of the North Madras and of the Devanga community, by Messrs. Murugesa Mudaliar and P. Ramakrishnayya respectively. The addresses referred in high terms of appreciation to Mr. Das's sacrifices and his purpose in life, viz., the liberation of India.

Labour and Politics

Mr. Das who rose amidst loud cheers then spoke as follows. The speech was translated into Tamil by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

Friends and comrades in the battle of Swaraj :— I thank you heartily for the two addresses which have

been read out. In the Telugu address, you refer to many qualities with which you credit me. I will not say that I have not done nothing for the country. But I will say this. In spite of the praises which you have bestowed upon me, the little that I have done is not as much as it was possible for me to do. I wish I had given up my practice ten years ago, and devoted the whole of my time to the cause of Swaraj. If I could not do as much as I thought I should have done, let me assure you that so far as the rest of my life is concerned, I am determined to devote the whole of it to the cause of my country (Cheers). The address in the Tamil language I could not follow. But I am told that you refer in that, to one of my speeches on the question of labour. I think that in our struggle for Swaraj, one of the facts of which we should never lose sight, is that without the help of labour, without the active participation of labour in the struggle, the cause of Swaraj is as good as lost. Labour represents about ninety-five per cent of the population of India; and those who think that labour should not be led into this great struggle commit the mistake that it is possible for one section of the people of this country or any other country to win Swaraj for the rest of them. My advice to you, brothers, is this. If anybody tells you not to meddle in politics, but to let one section, the educated community, win Swaraj on your behalf and for your good, do not trust him. No section of the people of India can win Swaraj for the rest. Unless, labour and those who range themselves against labour, the educated community, the masses, the Brahmins and the non-

Brahmins, the depressed classes, the pariahs, the panchamas, all these classes in India combine and work in perfect sympathy, it is impossible for India to free herself. Those of you who till the soil with the sweat of the brow, and those who labour day and night for the manufacture and creation of wealth, if you stand out of this fight, do not believe that you will reap the benefits of Swaraj. Do not believe those who say they will get the prize for you and then distribute it amongst you. Promises made by one section to win Swaraj for other section are promises broken. I do not doubt their honesty or sincerity. There is no doubt that they now think sincerely that they will win Swaraj. But promises made before power is wrested are worth nothing when those people get into power. People are generous, nay, magnanimous before they get power. (hear, hear). When they obtain power, the wish to possess, the instinct of possession, narrows their generosity and magnanimity. Have you ever seen a tiger cub which feeds on milk? My wife had one such in Calcutta. One day she thought she would give a little meat to this cub. Well, she gave a piece of meat to the cub; and next day she could not go anywhere near the cub. This cub had entirely changed. I tell you that possession of power works exactly in the same way.

Masses and Classes

If the educated classes and moneyed classes get possession of power to-day, do not delude yourselves into the belief that they will part with one little bit of it in your favour. They will become "trustees" then. You

will be the sacred trust. Just as the Bureaucracy think that as they have got power, they should stick to it and exercise it for the good of one section, your moneyed classes and educated classes when they have got power will think too that they are trustees of the Indian nation, who are ignorant and who do not know what is right, and therefore they must exercise power for the good of the people of this country. I know there are students of history who think that my proposition is wrong. They always refer to the countries in Europe and say, "Was not liberty won by classes ?" It is on this that I join issue with them. I maintain that in no country have the people yet obtained liberty through the classes. In France after the French Revolution, in England after the people's revolution, in Italy after the Mazzini revolution, what happened was merely the transfer of power from the few to the middle classes. The middle classes in those countries still hold the power. It is idle to say, under the circumstances which obtain in Europe to-day, that either the English people, the French people, or the Italian people have got liberty. In France and Italy, even to-day your brothers, when they go on strike, are shot down by the soldiers. In England the whole power of Government is in the hands of a few capitalists. I therefore warn you against trusting any particular section of people to win Swaraj for you. You must put your own shoulders to the wheel. You must go forward yourselves to fight the battle of Swaraj. I want to remind you particularly of this fact and of the power which you have got, but of which you are not fully conscious. I want

particularly to remind you of this fact to-day becaue, within a few months, the elections will be on here.

Far above caste interest, and class interest, you must hold the interest of the whole country. You have got to fight the bureaucracy. You cannot obtain Swaraj for yourself without fighting the bureaucracy. Let the Councils be the battle-ground between the people and the bureaucracy. Let the Assembly echo the sound of that battle. Do you realise the importance of your fighting for Swaraj? If you do not, Swaraj is not yet. But if you do, yours is the duty to fight. You will be denying yourselves, your children, and your children's children, unless you wake up and fight the bureaucracy.

The Hatred of the Brahmin

There is a class of men unfortunately in Madras who think that they have got to side with the Bureaucracy in order to crush another section. Here is a clear call to arms, for those who want to fight the Bureaucracy. If anybody therefore comes and tells you to give your vote :—ask him this question. Is he or is he not prepared to fight the bureaucracy? Labour cannot afford to waste its labour and its vote on those who will not stand for the people, and who will barter away their rights in favour of the bureaucracy. There is a gentleman who lives near this place and who puts himself forward as the champion of the non-brahmins. (cries of shame, shame, shame) (A voice :—Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty). Do not cry shame. The shame is yours, if you support these men. They think, these gentlemen, that their only business in life is to crush the Brahmin. I am not a Brahmin myself, and I

have no sympathy with the Brahmin, I assure you. I believe the time has come in the history of our country, when these caste prejudices and this caste system must be broken through. If the Brahmins dare to injure the interest of non-Brahmins, put them away by all means. But stand on your own strength. Let the non-Brahmins including the so-called depressed classes and Labour stand up as one man. I want you to realise that your special right as Labour, as non-Brahmins, as members of the depressed classes, is simply due to the fact that you are the country. If you sell your country, what good is it to crush the Brahmins only ? Crush the Brahmins by all means, if their caste prejudice is against the solidarity of the nation. But you will be false to yourselves, false to the great interest which you represent, if you support those who are the enemies of the country and whose only object is to get into offices and help the Bureaucracy. Remember every vote which you exercise is a solemn trust. Remember every one of you stands not only for the individual, but for the great country to which you belong. Every vote which goes to such people is a vote which is given to the Bureaucracy ; therefore every vote which is wasted in that way is a vote which is given against your country.

There is a crisis in Madras. The masses of Madras are on their trial to-day. The issue before the country is quite clear. Are you going to sell your country, or are you going to be true to your honour ? Let your votes in the coming elections give the answer. (loud and continued cheers)

SECOND SPEECH AT THE MADRAS BEACH.

Madras had another opportunity of hearing Desabandhu Das on his policy and programme. He begins this remarkable address of his, with a personal confession that he came to politics only through religion and a statement that he is there, only because he believes that, thereby, he is serving God. Stressing the word 'movement', he puts forward an eloquent plea for making the non-co-operation programme dynamic. Then he goes on to prove his thesis viz, that Non-co-operation as set forth in the Swarajya party's programme is a much more living one than that in the Congress programme.

He explains in the clearest possible terms his attitude towards Civil disobedience. He accepts it as a legitimate weapon, but has the vision to see and the courage to acknowledge that the country is not fit to-day for civil disobedience. That is why he places another programme before the country, with a view to preparing the people for the final struggle.

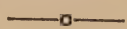
He effectively exposes the hollowness of the antithesis alleged to exist between Council entry and Civil Disobedience. He explains in detail the programme of the Swarajya Party, which is one of carrying on the fight with the Bureaucracy from every quarter and in every place, where the Bureaucracy is standing against the people.

He then deals elaborately with the achievements of the Non-Brahmin party in power. He assures patrioticNon-Brahmins in thePresidency in these words: "I have spoken to many Brahmin friends in Madras. They are perfectly willing to stand aside not in anger, not in annoyance, but reverentially, if Non-Brahmins, the major portion of the population in this province, stand up to fight the government." It is now for the non-brahmins of Madras to respond.

He criticises strongly but truly the attitude of the Ministerialist party and its leader towards patriots who went to prison for their country, towards personal liberty, towards reducing the burden of taxation of the poor ryots, towards University Education and towards Religion and their quest for the mere loaves and fishes of office. He incidentally criticises dyarchy.

Finally he appeals to the Non-Brahmins of Madras not to give these place-hunters, masquerading as their leaders, a fresh lease of life, by voting for them at the next election. He concludes this speech with this exhortation, "The situation in Madras to-day has got its own message. It is pregnant with a glorious message. I call upon Non-Brahmins to hear and heed the message of to-day."

At the end of the lecture Mr. Das answers the question asked of him and clears some doubts.



THE gathering on the Triplicane beach for the second time was doubtless large and included many that were not noticed before at such meetings. Another noteworthy feature was the presence of a predominating mass of prgressive non-Brahmins and it was quite in keeping with the occasion that Mr. Das should have thought it necessary to devote a good portion of his address to the criticism of the non-Brahmin Ministerial politics.

Mr. Das spoke unduly long, till a late hour but the audience gave him a respectful hearing. His references to the achievements of the party in power in the local Council and particularly the conduct of Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, their leader, were lively and kept the audience in good humour.

Such of the public bodies as did not find it convenient to present addresses of welcome on the day of public reception, did so and these were the Madras District Congress Council, the Presidency Muslim League, the Andhra Swarajya party, the District Andhra Committee, the Volunteer League, and the Hindu Prachar Sabha whose spokesmen were Messrs. K. Bashyam Iyengar, Hameed Khan, V. L. Sastri, G. Rangayya Naidu, V. L. Kesavalu and Pandit Sharma, respectively.

Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb occupied the chair.

Desabandhu Das's Address.

Desabandhu Das, who on rising was accorded an enthusiastic ovation, expressed his thankfulness for the addresses presented to him. He was not so vain and conceited, he said, as to think that he was not at all affected by any feelings of vanity. The addresses appealed to his vanity ; but if he was vain at times, he also knew that all was vanity except to love God and Him only to serve. If he had not believed that the service of one's country and one's nationality was service of God, he would have deserted the field of politics long ago. To tell them a secret, he did not come to politics through any other source except through his religion. According to his spirituality, God manifested Himself in individuals, in nations and in humanity. And as each individual had got his individuality, so each nation had its own nature ; to preserve that nature, to prosper on it and to fight for the establishment of it, was the prime need of politics. He, there-

fore, believed that when he was fighting for the foundation of his own nationality, he was fighting also for the recognition of that diverse nature of God. (Cheers.)

The Non-co-operation Movement.

All sorts of questions were put to me, and even to-day some questions are asked which I shall answer in due course. I was glad that Mr. Rangayyar referred to non-co-operation as a 'movement.' But what is the nature of a movement ? It moves. (laughter) I ask you to realise that great truth. You cannot call anything a movement, unless it moves (renewed laughter.) There is a danger to-day of non-co-operation stagnating, and I want you to recognise the fact, that if it is a movement, it has got to move, to inspire and to go on fighting for the deliverance of the Motherland. One fact is constantly lost sight of. Non-co-operation as an ideal is one thing, and non-co-operation as a practical step is another. Pray do not confuse the issues. When you are thinking of the Congress non-co-operation, you are always thinking of the ideals. When you are thinking of my non-co-operation, you are always thinking of the steps. I confess at once that the actual steps, which can be taken up to-day, fall far short of the ideal. But is not the case the same with the Congress ? In what sense can you say that the Congress is non-co-operating to-day, or it ever non-co-operated, except in the sense that it put forward the ideal before the country ? Indeed, do not claim for the Congress non-co-operation, more than what the Resolution expresses. Read the Nagpur Resolution. It does not say that the Congress has commenced non-co-

operation; on the contrary it makes it clear that non-co-operation is an ideal for which the country is not fit and it goes on to say that certain steps ought to be taken for making the country fit, to apply the practical steps of non-co-operation at a time to be determined by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee. That that time has arrived has not yet been declared by the Congress. It is a mistake, therefore, to say that the Congress is non-co-operating and that my programme is taking the people away from non-co-operation. No. Not at all. I have also put before the country the ideal of non-co-operation. I recognise and my party recognises that Swaraj is our goal and that the only way by which that goal can be reached is non-co-operation. And it recognises that non-co-operation is a movement—a fact of which the Congress to-day is not aware. It is something dynamic, it is growing, it is advancing, and it is not a lifeless dogma. I claim that my non-co-operation, as set forth in the Swarajya party's manifesto, is a much more living non-co-operation, than the one which is practised by the orthodox party in the Congress.

It is not confined to speeches of a Vedantic character. It intends to apply in practice the essential principle of non-co-operation, that is, the creation of a spirit of civil resistance, without which real non-co-operation is impossible, and, gradually as that spirit of resistance gains ground, to withdraw from the Government that co-operation by the people of the land, without which the Government cannot go on.

Face the Situation

Questions have been asked whether we believe in Civil Disobedience. I ask my critics to do me the honour of reading the programme which has been published after careful consideration. We accept civil disobedience as a legitimate weapon which may be applied when the country is prepared and when the occasion demands. In the opinion of our party, however, the country is not at present ready for Civil Disobedience; but in the course of the work which the party would hereinafter set before itself, the party would resort to such Civil Disobedience as the circumstances may then demand. The orthodox party say they want Civil Disobedience now. Is the country ready? Ever since the Bardoli Resolution, Civil Disobedience has been put off from time to time and only the other day the All-India Congress Committee further adjourned it for two months. I know—take it from me, I tell you the truth—that the country is not fit for it and you will have to continue to postpone it. Then why do you not face the situation, and confess the fact with bowed heads and in all humility of spirit that the country is not yet fit for Civil Disobedience? And, pray to God that the time may come when you can work up in this country such a spirit of resistance, by activity, not by dogmas, by action, not by words, that either the bureaucracy must yield to you or Civil Disobedience will at once become possible and practicable. Does this not satisfy you? I do not know, however, if it satisfies you to be told time after time, "Do not go into the Councils? Let us do Civil Disobedience."

List and Pledges

At Gaya we were asked to wait for three months. We waited, so that it might not be said that we had hampered the programme; and we gave them every opportunity of doing what they believed was capable of being done. Three months expired; and there was no Civil Disobedience. Are we nearer in April to Civil Disobedience than in December at Gaya? I want an honest answer to this question. (A voice—Certainly not) Very well. (Laughter). Then do you think in June you will be nearer to Civil Disobedience than now? Do you think it will be made more practicable by having names on a register, of men who have signed particular pledges? I have had myself to deal with a long list of names in Calcutta, when I led the campaign there. Many of them ran away when the time came. People whose names were not in the register and who had never taken any pledges at all rushed in. Do you not understand that civil disobedience is not made practicable by a record like that? It is not like building houses, storing materials one after the other and calling the aid of workmen afterwards. Where will your lists be at the time you start Civil Disobedience? Do you not know they will be in the Police Office? Where will the pledges be? No, brother nationalists, that is not the way to do civil disobedience. You have to do your duty. You have to take the country with you; you have to engage them in various forms of activity, in defence of the country and in defence of the honour of the people. And in doing so if the Bureaucracy obstructs you, then you will find that the people would be ready for civil disobedience.

Why Separate Treatment ?

There was an idea in some people's minds, that Council entry was opposed to civil disobedience. He had never been able to understand that logic. Civil Disobedience was disobedience of particular laws : but the Swarajya party went into the Councils to break, if possible, the very source of all laws. It all depends on why you entered the Councils. If they went there to perpetuate those institutions and help the Government in its administration, it was a different matter. But the Swaraj party said, "Accept our demands ; or we will not have these Councils." How this was opposed to the principle of civil disobedience he did not know. All sorts of Vedantic interpretations had been put forward ; but they need not confuse them. Let them imagine for themselves the situation that the Swarajya party said they would create by entering the Councils. That gift of imagination was rare now-a-days in Indian politics. Let them imagine for themselves. It was like a huge bird with its peak in the cup of milk of the Councils and its body outside, one entire bird, one entire movement filling the whole country and the atmosphere, and flapping its wings so that even the deaf could hear. Could they imagine what the result would be ? Where was the break ? Why were the Councils separate from the rest of India ? Every inch of Indian ground was in the possession of the bureaucracy. Why was special treatment necessary for the Councils ? They could go into local boards, Government schools and colleges and law courts also. What was there in the Councils which required separate

treatment? It was a thing which human intellect could not understand. The argument, therefore, that the Swarajya Party was departing from non-co-operation and civil disobedience, was quite invalid. They were putting the whole non-co-operation movement on a living basis.

Have I Gone Wrong?

Mr. Das next read the Swarajya party's manifesto and elaborated each one of the different items in the programme. He would add to these, he said, the project of an Asiatic federation and a national pact between the various communities in India which latter was necessary to enable us to fight the battle of Swaraj with perfect unity amongst ourselves. Have I gone wrong, in broadening the basis of non-co-operation and in making it a living doctrine and a living principle? Have I gone wrong in stating our views on civil disobedience and insisting upon a labour programme, national education, swadeshi activity and so on? Have I gone wrong in asking the people to capture the municipal councils, district and taluk boards, the provincial councils and the central legislature? I venture to think I am right. I want you to realise this fact—if necessary I will repeat it from a hundred platforms—that unless you attack the Bureaucracy from all sides, you will never win. You can as well leave the field clear to the Bureaucracy and retire. You can leave the Councils; but the Bureaucracy will employ them as weapons against you. You can leave anything you like; but the

bureaucracy will not leave you. And therefore I charge you to remember that this is a fight which you have undertaken in the name of the Congress ; and in the name of all the great leaders who have worked for our salvation for the last thirty years, I charge you to remember that it is not child's play. You have to fight for your deliverance. and that fight is best fought while you attack the Bureaucracy from every point, wherever and whenever you find that the Bureaucracy is standing against you.

Non-Brahmin Agitation

I shall just now, if I have not exhausted your patience, say a few words on the present situation in Madras. I am glad my friend Mr. Ramanathan has addressed you on this point. I am in complete agreement with him. But let me describe the position a little more fully and give you a few more details. You may remember that this non-Brahmin agitation began in 1916. Just at the same time when there was a pact between Hindus and Muslims at Lucknow, this question of Brahmin and non-Brahmin was raised. Whether the authorities were behind this or not, I do not know ; and I shall not give expression to any suspicion which I may entertian on that point. Let us face the facts, solid facts, as they are. When I heard of this non-Brahmin movement, let me assure you, I heard it with raptures in my heart. I felt that the deliverance of India was at hand. Because after all, what do sections matter? What do a few individual Brahmins matter, if the entire population is to stand united and fight the battle and a good fight

with the Government? It was in that hope I welcomed this movement; and it was in that hope that I cherished that movement. I really thought that it was going to make the way easy for freedom. After a few years' struggle, how my Brahmin friends behaved, I will not say now, because these questions are not questions which agitate Madras at the present moment. I have spoken to many Brahmin friends in Madras; they are perfectly willing to stand aside not in anger, not in annoyance, but reverentially if non-Brahmins, the major portion of the population, in this province stand up to fight the Government.

Quest of Loaves and Fishes

Now let us address ourselves to the career of the non-Brahmin movement. It is a few years since we have had the Reform Act and dyarchy. What dyarchy can accomplish in the way of creation of feuds and separation of one class from another, one can see now. But I realised it when it was first proposed. I stated to my friend Mr. Curtis, the author of this beautiful system, that the only thing that it would do was to bring the Government lower in the estimation of the people. Of course it was accepted, many friends agreeing to it. For it meant posts, Ministers and Secretaries, which meant a good round sum every month, (laughter) gilded saloons which I once used. And the result was when the non-Brahminical cause had all but triumphed, and the non-Brahmin party was in a majority, the cause of the nation was absolutely forgotten in the quest of posts and the loaves and fishes of office. I will bring to your mind one or two

things ; I hope Madras will not have a short memory. Now that the elections are coming on, I ask you to realise and remember, and to remember is not to forget, all that has taken place within the Council Chamber. Remember also that this majority of the non-Brahmins in the Council was practically due to the boycott of Councils by the Congress.

The Leader's Conduct

First of all, I will place before you the attitude of this Council and of the Ministerial Government towards patriots and towards those who held up the banner of freedom before the country. You remember when Mr. Yakub Hassan was arrested. It is very interesting. He was arrested and there was a motion made by one of the members of the Council, by a non-Brahmin member of the Council, for investigation into the case. Let me give you the date; for it is important. It was the 18th February 1921. I will read to you the speech made on that occasion by one of the leaders of this movement. (Somebody said 'a non-Brahmin misrepresentative'). It is good but it is not English (laughter). This gentleman speaking of Mr. Yakub Hassan who was a comrade of his for six years in the Council and for ten years or more in the Municipal Corporation, said, "This man (Deputy Superintendent of Police) will not easily make a fuss of anything. He is a sober and level-headed man. The information that he had and the information the Collector had, showed clearly there was every probability of a disturbance in the area. I know my friend Mr. Yakub Hassan." He had reason to know

him but then he had not degenerated into the power behind the throne (laughter.)—" I know him too well. I should say that if he is there at Calicut with a number of Moplahs around him a very combustible material"—Mr. Yakub Hassan seemed to him to be a match-box (laughter) which with a scratch will set fire to the combustible material (laughter)—"you will see the result is not possible to imagine. I say that Mr. Thomas has acted very sensibly and very ably too—(cries of shame, shame)—and I am only sorry that the Government of Madras has not been very anxious to see him act as he proposed to do. No doubt after what he has done the Government of Madras seem to have said 'all right you have done well'. 'I say the Government should have given him a little more support in this matter. Here it is said by my friend that there is no chance of disturbance, the fire is there, the dynamite is there (laughter) and nobody can deny that."—Lo! Lo! can anybody who has eaten the salt of somebody else? (laughter) " Well the only question is who will set fire to it. There is Mr. Yakub Hassan—can anybody doubt there will not be combustion? My friend Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar "—[Brahmin mind you (laughter)] —" thinks that unless there is a disturbance, we cannot see there is a possibility, but I say, Sir, a wise man will not say that"—A wise man will stick to his post (laughter). A wise man, I beg your pardon, if he is himself incapable of occupying posts, will set up creatures of his there. —" I cannot say what the circumstances will be in a district if a gentleman like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, is placed at the helm of affairs"—

one more post might go to him (laughter); that will be a calamity—"If Mr. Thomas had not taken steps to put it down and restrain Yakub Hussan, there would have been a disturbance and a Punjab tragedy would have been perpetrated in Malabar," (Laughter)

Yet Another Achievement.

Then came the question of political prisoners, —those brave men who in 1922 chose to go to jail rather than suffer humiliation and disrespect. I will read to you what this knighted or be (k) nighted gentleman (laughter) said when the glory garland of knighthood was round his neck. (laughter). I will not describe it to you myself because I may use language which may not be quite decorous "Mr. President," said this Non-Brahmin representative, "I am really sorry to have to say a word against the Resolution brought forward."—(The Resolution was for the better treatment of political prisoners)—"Sir, it has been said and said very rightly that political offenders might be treated in a different way from the ordinary offenders." —Even this gentleman recognizes that would be right —"I agree with them but what is the kind of treatment these political offenders deserve? Sir, it is well-known that when a murderer kills one person, that one person alone suffers. If a thief or a burglar robs one person, that person alone suffers. Whereas what is the offence of the non-co-operators? I suppose, Sir, you were all in Madras on Friday last, and I suppose you will have seen what kind of hooliganism was perpetrated."—These non-co-operators, gentleman, were those who went to jail in the mofussil and they

took no part in what happened, at Madras.— "Sir, if the Police had been strong enough they would have pukkalo-ed' these people, Are these to be treated like gentlemen in jails?"-- (Shame, Shame.) What do you think of this? Men who suffer for the country, who have got the courage of their convictions, who are not slaves but who manfully, courageously, and bravely court prison-life, are not to be treated as gentlemen! Who are the gentlemen, pray? These creatures who sell the country whenever occasion arises. (Applause and cries of Shame Shame.) These are gentlemen! And those honest young men who are fighting for freedom, whose hands held aloft the banner of freedom are not to be treated like gentleman. They are to be called ruffians, holigans! I hope Madras will not have a short memory, (Laughter and cries of "no and never.")

Slaves do not want freedom.

There are three sets of people, the non-Brahmin leader says, the youngsters, the hooligans and still bigger men. I am not excluded (Laughter). These youngsters when they saw the cars taking the people to the Prince, according to him, they prostrated before them. Prostrated before them! That is their offence! When first I read that the slaves of America refused to be free, I did not understand it at all. But after the Reforms Act in India, that truth has become absolutely clear to my mind. Slaves do not want freedom. All that they desire is a little comfort. A few more doles of rice and dholl, a few posts, a few titles and ribbons to decorate them with.

(Laughter) "Do these really deserve better treatment and enjoyment in jails at the cost of the general tax-payer?" the non-Brahmin representative asked. Oh! what pity, what kindliness of feeling and what sympathy for the general tax-payer! (Laughter). "They do all kinds of mischief when they are sent to jail," he says, "and this cannot be tolerated."

Work of the Party in Council

Mr. Das then referred to the Land Revenue Recovery Act and the action of the Ministerial party turning down a resolution calculated to relieve the suffering of the ryots; namely, the proposal to postpone the re-settlement in the Ceded Districts, because they said the Government must have money so that the Ministerial departments might be carried on. Ministerial departments included Ministers (laughter). He next referred to the Madras University Act and the Religious Endowments Bill. They all knew what an uproar was created in Bengal over the University Bill, but in Madras the Bill was accepted and the University had become a department of the State and the State included Ministers. (laughter). The Endowments Bill was only a Bill in name. In reality, the Ministers had reserved all power to themselves. They had put a mockery of a Committee and they had exempted that Committee from the jurisdiction of civil courts in this country. This is the work of the non-Brahmin party in the Council.

"I have told you," Mr. Das concluded, "how they have dealt with political liberty. I have told you how

they have dealt with the measures which were intended for the good of the ryots who are the backbone of Madras. You have seen how the interests of the people have time after time been sacrificed. This is the situation of Madras at the present moment. The Non-Brahmin party is in evidence but the principle on which this party bases its activities has been utterly foresworn. There is no principle behind it at the present moment. I exclude from criticism those non-Brahmin members of the type who spoke before you to-day. I am speaking of those who have receded from that principle time after time in the Council Chamber.

Fight the Elections.

I appeal to you—this is another of my arguments in favour of Council entry—to make it impossible for such a form of dyarchy to go on : and to see whether the time has not come when a joint action of all sections of the community should make the perpetration of such scandals and the retention of the dyarchic form of Government an impossibility. I invite my friends of the non-Brahmin party to say whether they are willing any more to tolerate the intolerable power of this party : whether it is not their bounden duty to declare at the polling stations, not their adherence to, but separation from, this party, because it is a virtue to separate from iniquity, separation, not from the great principle that lies underneath that party, but from the prostitution of that principle which has been carried on in the last few years.

I call upon them to listen to me and to capture every seat in this province. I assure them that if they

stand up for freedom, fight the good fight, the Brahmins will stand aside (Hear, hear) not in annoyance, not in anger, but for the cause of freedom most gladly. I appeal to you my non-Brahmin friends, to think of this question seriously. I know to-day has got to vindicate itself. The message of yesterday had been given; that message was considered and applied.

But to-day has given its message. The situation in Madras to-day has got its own message. It is pregnant with a glorious message. I call upon non-Brahmins to hear and heed the message of to-day (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. J. N. Ramanathan next addressed the gathering in English. He emphatically asserted his view that if Brahmins left the non-Brahmins alone and allowed them to enter the Councils and receive kicks from the Bureaucracy here and there, they would prove to be the worst (best ?) non-co-operators—(hear, hear). They would be the greatest fighters in the land for liberty and he had no doubt that the goal of Swaraj would be reached easily. He appealed to Mr. Das once again to do something to bring about the consummation of this cherished desire.

Questions Answered

Mr. Das then answered some questions. In reply to a questioner who asked what Mr. Das had to say to the view expressed by Babu Shyam Shunder Chakravarthy that the All-India Congress Committee's resolution was 'ultra vires' as being against the Gaya Congress resolution, Mr. Das said he had already given his answer at the Bombay meeting of The All-India

Congress Committee ; and it was accepted without any objection made thereto. Not only he, but also the United Provinces and Punjab Congress Committees, held that view. He then quoted the Badroli precedent.

Q.—In spite of the compromise, Mr. Rajagopalachari has asked the Congress Committees to oppose Council entry. And if this was carried out, what will be your next move ?

Answer :—The compromise resolution, you will remember, was passed by a clear majority. What Mr. Rajagopalachari intends to do I do not know. But you may take it from me that so far as I am concerned I mean to stand for the Council.—I do not mean to stand personally. I mean to see this programme through and if Mr. Rajagopalachari obstructs, it would be for you to answer. Why do you put this question to me ? No obstruction would deter me from doing my duty, and I will go on doing my duty.

Q.—After going into the Councils you say, you will make a national demand. What is its nature ?

A.—Well,that depends on what the electors would say. It is for you to formulate the demand. Well, if the demand was that English people should leave the country bag and baggage, I do not believe England would recognise it nor will you be disposed to make such a demand (Laughter). A demand for Swaraj will be made, and if Parliament were to say that India would get Swaraj within 10 years, making definite provisions for the same then I shall accept it. May I put to the questioner another question ? When you non-co-operated with the Government, what kind of Swaraj

did you expect the Government to acknowledge ? The attitude was—"we will non-co-operate till we obtain Swaraj." The Congress creed itself has left this question vague viz., "Outside the Empire or within the Empire ?" Why have you left it vague ? I will tell you why. If the Empire recognises my right, I am willing to be within the Empire. My right must be recognised. If the Empire does not, why, the Empire must go. I wanted to fomulate the demand, just before I was sent to the Jail. I had the honour of an interview with the Governor of Bengal and His Excellency said, "I want to find out whether there is any way to settle our difference. What is it that will satisfy you?". My answer was, "I cannot tell you. It is for the Congress to decide. "After the elections are over, the Swaraj party will formulate the demands and place them before the Government. They will put forward the demand for Swaraj and it will wait till the Government forwards the same to Parliament and gets the reply.

Q.—Will you kindly answer Mrs. Besant's doubt? Supposing you enter the Council and present your demands. The Government says that it will consider it and for that a Commission is appointed. It will take years to decide. What will you do in the meantime?

A.—I know what I shall do. We will give a reasonable time to Government. I do not believe in Commissions. We will formulate in clear terms our demands. At the end of a reasonable time, we will begin our non-co-operation. We will not be put off by any Commission. If they say, they would communicate with Parliament, we will give just enough time for that, and at the end of it we will begin our campaign.

SPEECH AT VELLORE.

Desabandhu Das delivered his first speech outside Madras at Vellore. It is, in this speech, he develops the thesis that life is larger than politics. He says passionately: "Those of you who are young may wait for years for Swaraj. But I have got only a few more years to live. I cannot live for many years for Swaraj."

He explains how the Charka is only the symbol of liberty, and how construction cannot proceed without destruction. He then elaborates his idea of how to use the Councils as weapons in the fight for Swaraj. He stresses the need for capturing the Councils by pointing out that to-day they are being used as weapons by the Bureaucracy against the people.

He returns to the subject of the Non-Brahmin movement, at the close of the speech, and appeals to Non-Brahmins to hold aloft the banner of Swaraj.

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AFTER addressing meetings at Kaverippakkam, Wallajah, Ranipet, Arcot and Melvisharam, Srijut. C. R. Das with Sjts. Phookan of Assam, A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, C. Venkatarangam Naidu and others reached Vellore. They were all received by Messrs. C. Vaithyanatha Rao, A. V. Ganghadara Sastriar, Natteri Krishnamachariar and others. A grand procession was arranged and it passed through the main bazaar to the Gandhi Maidan, where a public meeting was held with Mr. Natteri Krishnamachariar in the chair.

Mr. Krishnamachariar said that to-day was an important day because of the visit of Srijut Das who after having cast away health, wealth and every thing,

visited Vellore for the welfare of the country and appealed to the audience to listen to the speakers calmly.

Then the welcome Address by the Vellore Congress Sabah in English was read by Mr. Vythianatha Rao and the Tamil one by Moulana Sharuf Uddin. Mr. J. N. Ramanathan was asked to speak. He dealt with the failure of the Non-Brahmin party under the present leaders to fight for freedom and do good to the people and said he wanted that Non-Brahmins should enter the Councils to fight for Swaraj.

Life is Larger than Politics.

Mr. President and friends,—I thank you for having attended this meeting in such large numbers, and the members of the Congress Committee for having given me this address. I notice, it is the City Congress Committee of Vellore. My thanks are all the more due, because I did not expect it. I am no longer the President of the Indian National Congress. I notice that it is out of kindness that this is given to me. I feel the warmth and zeal behind these words, and therefore it is that the gratitude swells up in my heart. You have not in any way associated me in your address with my political views. I am all the more grateful for that. I have always maintained that life is larger than politics. If I have succeeded in touching your life, my thanks are due to you. At the end of your address, you pray to God for my long life and health, and you do so in order that I may carry to fruition the great work of the country. I thank you for the sentiment. Life indeed would not be worth living, if

Swaraj was not near. All my body, soul and strength and all that which belongs to me, shall be devoted to this cause. That is the reason why I have placed before the country a fresh programme. Those of you who are young may wait for years for Swaraj. But I have got only a few more years to live. I cannot live for many years for Swaraj.

The Message of the Charka.

You are probably aware of the details of my programme. May I have the liberty of saying a few words about the constructive programme ? I ask you to remember the charka. I had the honour of seconding the proposal of charka by Mahathma Gandhi at Bezwada. Then, we discussed the question of men, money and munitions. The message of the charka, as I understand it, is that it is a symbol of liberty. For in one compartment of life it gives you independence. If you make your own cloth, you have not to depend upon the fluctuations of the market. It is not entering into competition, but avoiding competition. Have I made my meaning clear ? If you spin at your leisure throughout the year, you get your cloth for nothing. And on a proper co-operative system you can carry it on for yourselves. Therefore you can get your cloth free or practically free. You no longer care, whether Manchester cloth rises to Rs. 7 or sinks to Rs. 3. In the matter of clothing you attain Swaraj. That is the symbol of Swaraj. That sense of independence is Swaraj. I want you to adopt this symbol. Is it necessary for me to explain to Hindus what the idea means ? You take a stone and consecrate it as God.

Can you deny it is stone? Still it stands for the all-pervading deity. I ask you to worship the Charka as a symbol of Swaraj. Does it mean that all your activities are confined to the Charka? Swaraj is all-pervading. It includes everything. If you adopt the charka, it enables you to produce cloth. We require not only this, but also other sides of activity to make us self-sufficient, and self-supporting. What is the greatest obstacle to Swaraj to-day? It is the superimposition of the Bureaucracy on our life. You cannot proceed with the work of the charka, without getting rid the work of the Bureaucracy. To the extent you succeed with the charka, to that extent you displace Manchester. But what is Manchester? It is another manifestation of the Bureaucracy. Have you not heard that administration and exploitation go hand in hand? My programme is therefore built on the basis of this Charka.

No Construction without Destruction.

Take the field of education. Can you spread national education without displacing the existing Universities? May I ask you, is there any construction without destruction? I am putting forward the Nagpur Congress resolution. The Congress enjoins us to with-hold our boys from Government schools and put them into national schools. The former is destruction and the latter is construction. In the same manner, in the case of law courts, the process of destruction precedes construction. They are again destruction and construction. The boycott of Councils was also conceived in the same spirit.

Now two years of non-co-operation work have passed. We have succeeded and failed. We have met with material success,inasmuch as we have realized the great strength of the nation. That stream of national consciousness has not dried up. It is lethargic. Now the time has come for rousing the people to action. At the present moment,we are suffering from depression. We are sleepy. Perhaps the very exertion we put forward is the cause. Is there a single individual who does not admit this depression ? We have to keep harnessing the national energy and diverting it to proper channels. I have therefore to ask the country to accept my programme. I want to add my real activities to the paper activities of the Congress.

How to use the Councils as our Weapons

I still want to boycott the Councils. I want to turn the energy of non-co-operation into the Councils. We tried to boycott these Councils two years ago. We have allowed a number of worthless people to get into the Council chambers. The Councils are merely weapons. How do you boycott them, when you allow these people to exercise these weapons? I want you to use these weapons; and some people ask, "Is it possible to win Swaraj through the Councils?" I want you to apply the same logic, and the same standard of reasoning, to the charka. Is charka activity alone by itself capable of giving us Swaraj? Is national education alone capable of giving us Swaraj? The answer is obviously "no." But the totality of all your national activities is sure to give you Swaraj. The difficulty arises, because people use phrases without under-

standing their meaning. How can they attribute sovereign virtues to the councils? All that I want to do is to use the Councils as weapons, and by that means to bring pressure to bear on Parliament to grant us Swaraj. At present, the pressure on the Bureaucracy comes from the European community. They strike work when they are not paid the wages they demand. This direct action has a wonderful effect in bringing the employers to give consideration to their demands. In the same way in the Councils, we shall press our demands and if they are not satisfied, we shall not vote with the Bureaucracy on any single matter. The Bureaûcracy relies on our weakness in our not using the Councils for our own purposes. Do you remember the splendid ultimatum given to the Government by Mahatma Gandhi that the people would non-co-operate with the Government, unless and until the Punjab atrocities and Khilafat wrongs are set right?

Say to the Government that until and unless Swaraj is granted to us, we will non-co-operate with them inside and outside the Councils. It is only by that fight we can succeed. There is not a single sphere to-day wherein you can say: "Here I can build my life." I warn you therefore that Swaraj is an empty dream, until and unless you are prepared to fight the Bureaucracy all round. I say to you that there is no time to waste on metaphysical disquisitions. It is your duty to fight the Bureaucracy on all sides. If you are prepared to do that, then and then alone you can get Swaraj. That is my message to the Congress.

The Non-Brahmin Movement

My friend, Mr, J. N. Ramanathan says that I adopted the Non-Co-operation cause because it was the Non-Brahmin cause. When I heard of the Non-Brahmin movement some years ago, I hailed it because I heard in it the cry for Swaraj. I felt the travail of the soul. I felt the consciousness of the soul to get itself free. Let me now deal with the claim of the Non-Brahmins. If they have a claim, they have also a duty to perform. Non-Brahmins being ninety seven per cent, of the people of the province, have a duty. Are they not to hold aloft the standard of Swaraj ? Let them take up this standard, and I will persuade my Brahmin friends not to enter the Councils. I embrace the Non-Brahmin cause, because it is also the cause of Swaraj. My friend says that the Non-Brahmins went into the Councils with the ideal of Swaraj, but that that ideal remains an idle dream. What I demand is that the ideal of Swaraj should still be there and it should not be left as a mere ideal. My faith in human nature is large. What I heard about Non-Brahmins some years ago has come out true. I believe in Mr. J. N. Ramanathan and his friends—a gallant band—who are determind to support him. If what my friend says is true, I want him to enter the Councils and fight. If my friend succeeds, then it will be our success. Some people say I am a friend of the Brahmins. I know of no greater friend of the Brahmins than Mr. J. N. Ramanathan. If there is any one who stands between liberty and the Non-Brahmins, he is not a Brahmin. Similarly

those who fight against progressive Non-Brahmins in the Council Chamber are not true Non-Brahmins. All false Brahmins and all false Non-Brahmins must be sacrificed for liberty. I appeal to all my friends to fight for liberty.

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SPEECH AT CONJEEVARAM

Conjeevaram is a historic and holy city in South India. The presiding deity there is Mahavishnu. Speaking at that place, Desabandhu Das appropriately asks the audience whether they ought not to realise the ideal of Nara-Narayana which is one of the Vibhuties of Vishnu. Taking his stand on that, he sounds a bugle-call, in this speech, to his countrymen, in the very name of their religion to wake up and fight the good fight, for Swaraj. He has no time for processions and music. He brushes them aside and asks the people, with "unpleasant frankness" to be up and doing, and not reduce politics to a pastime. He explains in his speech how Civil Disobedience can become possible, only by our capturing the Councils, putting forward our demands, and, if they are not conceded, entering on a series of resignations and re-elections, until the voters who are the tax-payers will have been raised to the necessary pitch of enthusiasm.

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SJT. Das accompanied by Mr. Phookan of Assam arrived at Conjeeveram by motor at 5 p.m. They were met by the leaders of all parties and profusely garlanded and taken in procession to the Maidan where there was a large concourse of people assembled to pay their respects to him and to listen to his call. Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, President of the District Congress Committee, occupied the chair. Addresses of welcome were read out to him on behalf of the townsmen of Conjeevaram by Sjt. Krishnaswami Sarma. Other addresses on behalf of the District Congress Committee, on behalf

of the people of the district, and on behalf of the Swarajya party were also read. Sjt. Das in reply said:—

Politics no Pastime

I thank you for the kind addresses that have been read out to me. I always speak with unpleasant frankness. I hope you will excuse me, if I cannot congratulate yon on the work which you have done. Politics used to be a pastime, before Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene. We had then two years of magnificent activity, and politics has again reverted to its old place. It is a pastime of a different kind now—a pastime of fun, of processions, of shouts, of garlands and flowers, but activity is absent from it. I have never accepted politics as a pastime, and if you refuse to wake up, there are other places in India which will do the work. You pride yourselves on being the residents of one of the holy cities of India. What is the worth of holiness which is divorced from life? You can admire tombs, but you cannot live in them. Is all your greatness buried under those temples? Are you a people to be scorned? You do not realise how it affects me. This is a crisis in the history of India. Swaraj must be had at any cost. I want to see you with your loins girded, and with your hands ready for the fight; and I assure you I am not going to be put off by mere offers of flowers. The work of Swaraj has commenced. If you do not listen to the call to-day, sleep your sleep; but I tell you a moment will arrive, when you will have to hear the call, and then you will hear it under circumstances not altogether pleasant. It may be God's will that you should be lashed into

life again: but you have to live the life which is yours. You cannot escape your responsibility. You cannot turn your face away from your destiny.

Embrace Life and Fight

There is one of the greatest Vaishnava temples in this city. Have you never heard of the ideal of God being Nara-Narayana ? Is that not one of the Vibhutis of God ? And what is Nara-Narayana but men, individuals, families, nations, humanity ? Are you not ashamed to worship in that temple, when you refuse to live the life of men, when you refuse to contribute to the building of nationality ?

On the one hand, I find people are sleeping under excess of logic ; on the other hand I find people are still willing to embrace the Bureaucracy. I call upon you to-day to embrace life. Life is larger than logic and metaphysics, and unless you are prepared to displace the Bureaucracy, there is no way of living the life of a nation. I therefore call upon you in all earnestness to fight for Swaraj, to fight against the Bureaucracy in every direction, and from every nook and from every corner of your life. Do you know what that means ? You have to capture every fort of the Bureaucracy. Are your temples free for the worship of Gods ? No. For there is the Religious Endowments Bill. Have you the right to-day to bring up your children, according to the education which you desire to give ? No. For the country is full of Government schools and colleges, with European models and with nothing national about them. Have you the right to settle your disputes to-day? No. Even then

the final sanction must come from the British Courts. Have you the right to legislate for the country? No You have Legislative Councils which are the creatures of the Bureaucracy. Have you the right to-day to clothe your body with your own clothes spun by you and woven by you.? No. Manchester has put a mark of slavery on your person. What field of life is there which is free from the Bureaucracy? How is it possible for you to attain Swaraj without capturing the fields which are in the hands of the Bureaucracy? You have to recover your lost ground. That is why I am inviting you to-day to a great struggle, to a fight with the Bureaucracy all round, because your slavery also is all round. That is the real boycott upon which I ask you to take your stand and to make the Councils cease to function, until the Bureaucracy bends to our will.

But I heard somebody say, that if the Councils are stopped from working, the bureaucratic power will still go on. Suppose you succeeded in inducing every voter in this country not to vote, there are no members, and the Councils are empty, does the bureaucratic power cease with that? That argument is against both forms of boycott, yours as well as mine; but my form of boycott is more practical.

Civil Disobedience

If our demands are not conceded, the members of the Councils will resign their seats. Re-election must follow resignation, unitil within a few years the whole atmosphere will be charged with electricity. If ever civil disobedience will become possible in this country, it will be only then. The voters

are the tax-payers and no real civil disobedience is possible without the non-payment of taxes. But such civil disobedience may never be necessary, because when the whole country is prepared to fight in that manner. a bureaucracy always surrenders. That is the Non-co-operation which I understand viz: the creation of a spirit of resistance in every sphere of national life. As true piety does not consist in running away from this world, but fighting the battles of life through the different stages of life, so true Non-co-operation does not consist in running away from it, but facing the Bureaucracy fighting it, and defeating it. That is what I am asking you to do to-day. If you can do it, then only can you take pride in the fact that you are the citizens of a holy city. Otherwise your religion is a pretence and a mockery.

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RECEPTION AND SPEECH AT CUDDALORE

With his mind oppressed by the excess of tamashas and by the absence of real work, Mr. Das delivers the following speech at Cuddalore. He takes as his theme the self-sufficient assertion of a Congress Committee that while they believed in the constructive programme they were against Council entry. He takes up the item of Hindu-Muslim unity in the constructive programme and proves conclusively that only by making Hindus and Muslims work together in the Councils and outside, can that unity be secured, and not by mere paper resolutions. His large heart bleeds at the cruel exclusion of Panchamas from temples. He deprecates the mere passing of resolutions for the removal of untouchability and appeals to the people for common action and common effort. He concludes this lecture by warning the people against degenerating into nothing more than Vaishnavas mechanically counting beads.

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THE principal men of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities met Mr. Das and party at the very entrance into Manjakuppam. a portion of New Town, and garlanded the patriots. The party next drove along the high road, cheered by groups of people gathered there. Near the bridge over the Gaudilam river, they received the welcome addresses. The gathering was large, consisting of vakils, merchants and even members of the official class.

Reception at New Town

Mr. R. Narayanaswamy Iyer read the address on behalf of the Tindivanam Congress Committee.

At old Town.

At Cuddalore Old Town Mr. Das received three addresses : one on behalf of the Khilafat Committee, one on behalf of the Panrutti Khilafat Committee, and one on behalf of the Town Congress Sabah. All the three, supported the programme of the Swarajya party. The gathering here was several times larger than the one in New Town and the number wonld be not less than ten thausand.

Desabandhu Das's Reply.

Addressing them, Mr. Das said he would not conceal from them the thought uppermost in his mind, that all political life in the country was nearly extinct and in its place he discovered signs and symptoms of death. They had preserved the outward appearances of a great agitation, through which they had passed. But where was the heart which throbbed two years ago? Where was the life which held the whole country captive to the standard of patriotism? Everywhere they had supplanted that life by outward forms of degeneration. As he passed through different parts of this province the things which met him were processions, music tamasha and all the outward symptoms which tried to imitate life but which in fact were the indications of death. He had always hated processions, and the music which greeted him in different cities was not the music of a great ideal, He wished they would realise once for all that politics was not a pastime. Only those were wanted, who would take up politics as a business and proceed with it in a straightforward

manner. He would frankly state there was no use in shouting his name or greater names than his, all along the way, unless along with it they were prepared for self-sacrifice. The more they shouted Mahatmaji's name, the more they disgraced that name, unless along with it they were prepared to win Swaraj. Flowers and music were excellent when they expressed the joy of life and exaltation of fight. But when there was no sincerity, no decision, and no determination to fight for Swaraj, flowers and music were dead things like stones.

There in that yonder jail—(pointing to the Cuddalore Jail) lie the persons who fought for your liberty. You, men of Cuddalore, how near you are to that, and yet God knows how far! It is not prison-bars that divide you; it is your selfishness and unpreparedness for the great task which God put into your hands, that divide the living there and the dead outside. One of the addresses presented to me expresses the adhesion of the people on behalf of whom it is presented to non-violent non-co-operation and the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress; and the careful draftsman has taken care to say that the Tindivanam Congres, Committee—not of this place (a voice—it is the Congress head-quarters for the district) differs from me on the question of Council entry.

The Constructive Programme.

I ask you, what is the constructive programme? Hindu-Muslem unity is one of the items of the programme. What have you done here in Cuddalore or there in Tindivanam since the Bardoli Resolution, to promote Hindu Moslem unity? Have you not seen

in India, in every temple mantras and worship being offered to God, which is lifeless and which I say is an insult to God ? When the spirit is dead, the words are insults. How do you propose to justify your constructive work, if you allow this important item of Hindu-Moslem unity shine on paper only ? You are divided by religion ; you are divided by culture. The only point which is common at the present moment is that both of you are against the bureaucracy. Do you think there can be any unity between Hindu and Mussalmans, unless you lay down a programme in which they can fight the bureaucracy shoulder to shoulder ?

How to Promote Hindu-Muslim Unity.

It is a mistake to describe my programme as merely a programme of Council entry. I want you to be engaged in a programme of continuous contest with the bureaucracy. If I have put down in my programme the item of Council entry, it is because I believe that you cannot be united, unless and until both of you Hindus and Mahomedans fight shoulder to shoulder against the Bureaucracy. Words will not unite you. Action will. Advice does not unite, because who does not know unity is better than disunity ? Copy-book maxims may be repeated a hundred times, without producing the slightest impression. There are sixty lakhs of voters in this country.—Hindus, Mahommedens and men of other persuasions as well. I want you to consider my programme from that point of view. Suppose a body of men, Hindus and Mahommedans, go to the electors and ask them to elect them, because they

want to fight the Bureaucracy, Suppose they are elected. They go to the Councils (chambers.) They put forward their demands in the name of the sixty lakhs of voters before the Government. Either the Government yields or the Government refuses to yield. If the Government yields, there is the triumph. Is not that triumph the triumph of the Hindus and Moslems in India ? Do you think unity can be better promoted than by common triumphs and common defeats ? Suppose the Government refuses to yield. The representatives resign their places and go back to the sixty lakhs of voters and tell them that their demands had been flouted and treated with scorn, Whose is the defeat ? Is that not the common defeat of Hindus and Mussalmans ? Whose is the indignation against the Bureaucracy ? Is that not the common indignation of the Hindus and Moslems ? I tell you therefore that with every triumph, and every defeat, you increase Hindu-Moslem unity. And the struggle for nationality must consist of a series of victories and a series of defeats. You proceed from defeat to defeat, victory to victory and triumph to triumph. Has anybody found out a better way of promoting Hindu-Moslem Unity? You may give your advice from a million platforms. But I tell you the innate selfishness of human beings is such that they would remain unaffected. It is only when you make them act together, bear the same standard, take up the same work and be engaged in the same fight, that unity will come and selfishness will give place to identity of interests. Is it or is it not clear that without Hindu-

Moslem unity Swaraj is an idle dream ? All that I ask you to do is not to remain satisfied with paper resolutions. I want to make those resolutions real by translating them into action. Those who differ from me should at least place before the country, not words, not desires, not even resolutions, but practical methods of achieving this unity.

Untouchability

Take another item of the constructive programme, the removal of untouchability. I ask you, what has been done, in this matter beyond passing that resolution ? Here is a province where ancient temples rear their high heads. It is only yesterday, I saw one of the most sacred temples in all India. I was told that a Panchama would not be allowed to enter the gate of the temple, and yet the Guru Ramanuja made a present ot his *mantram* to all the world, including the untouchables. In the very temple of God, you insult God's creatures and call your temple, a temple of sanctity. In a province like this, do you think mere advice as to untouchability will save the nation ? What better advice can the Congress workers give than the words of Ramanuja ? Advice has been given ; and the whole spirit of Hinduism rebels against the way you deal with the untouchables and yet they exist. Do you really think that if you go on giving that advice, pass resolutions from platforms, you have solved the problem of untouchability ? What is the action that you contemplate ? Do you know they are getting rebellious ? How could those who insult the dignity of human beings expect to be treated with

dignity? The sovereign remedy lies not in uttering the *mantram* of non-violent non-co-operation, till you are dead, not in preaching the doctrine of untouchability from platforms, but to make the identity of interests between you and the untouchables clear, by common action and common effort.

Counting of Beads

A few more years of empty paper-resolutions on non-co-operation would degenerate into nothing more than the Vaishnava's counting of beads. He had seen the burial of many principles of Hindu religion. He had seen many ideals degenerating into lifeless dogmas in this country, and he was therefore determined to rescue the doctrine and the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation from such degeneration. He was determined to apply it to life, not merely to utter it by the throat. He appealed to them in the name of all that was holy in this country, and said that unless and until all of them flocked to him to render him assistance, he was helpless and powerless. He called upon them in the name of that patriotism which they all possessed to come together, and to fight the great battle against the bureaucracy. (Loud cheers.)

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AN INTERVIEW WITH DAS

The New Party's Aims

DESABANDHU Das, stated that the All-India Congress Committee having passed the resolution of compromise, it is not open to anybody to obstruct election proceedings in the name of the Congress. Those who want to do so will have to act as individuals. "I am not afraid of such opposition, as I feel sure I shall be able to convince my countrymen of the truth of my cause."

Asked as to the effect of saying that "he knew how to deal with counter propaganda," Mr. Das said that what he meant was that he felt convinced that the obstructionists would have no chance of success, for there was all the difference in the world between obstruction by the National Congress and obstruction by private individuals. As far as he knew, the country would not, under the present cireumstances, tolerate any such obstruction.

Question of Legality

As regards the question whether the All India Congress Committee's decision was *ultra vires* of the Gaya resolution on Council boycott, Mr. Das expressed his considered opinion that it was not. To those who believed that the All-India Congress Committee resolution was *ultra vires*, all that he need say was that when as President he ruled out the objection he stated the grounds upon which his decision was based, and the All-India Congress Committee did not chall-

enge his decision in any way. He adopted the only procedure by which such constitutional questions, when raised as points of order, could be decided. Moreover there was a clear precedent in favour of his decision. The Congress at Ahmedabad passed a resolution in favour of Civil Disobedience, and the Working Committee at Bardoli, having regard to the altered circumstances then prevailing, suspended that resolution. The All-India Congress Committee at Delhi also resolved to suspend the Ahmedabad resolution.

In reply to another question, Mr. Das said that, according to the accepted interpretation of the Congress constitution, Provincial Committees were under the All-India Congress Committee and, although they might express their dissent from its decision, they could not in any way act against it.

Change the Programme

Asked what his party intended to do to restore the prestige of the Congress, Mr. Das said the only way to do it is by the alteration of the programme at the next Congress. It is no use passing resolutions on paper, which the country does not respect. If anything lowers the prestige of the Congress, such resolutions do. The Nagpur resolution clearly recognises that the country is not fit for Non-Co-operation. " Yet in my opinion the Non-Co-operation which that resolution contemplates implies the taking of such steps as will make the country fit for applying Non-Co-operation. Some of the steps have proved abortive, and unless the Congress realises that position, it is bound to lose its prestige. The Congress must adopt a

rational course of conduct, which will be accepted by the country and which will make the country more and more fit to apply Non-Co-operation."

Capturing the Congress

Question :—Is it your real desire to convert yourselves into a majority within the Congress?

Answer :—Yes.

Question :—But, how are you going to do it ?

Answer:—By success, and by making the orthodox Congress-men feel the ridiculousness of their position. Already, the country has changed a great deal since the Gaya Congress. If votes are taken now of the members of the All India Congress Committee, a great many more will be found on my side, than before.

Present Position regarding Boycott

Asked about the opinion of Mr. Das on the resolutions which the Bihar Committee have recently passed that the All-IndiaCongress Committee's decision merely suspended Council boycott and that it left untouched the Gaya mandate, he said that the Gaya resolution consisted of two parts. Its first part advised the people not to stand for the Councils. In the second part, it asked the voters not to vote and directed a propaganda to induce them not to vote. The resolution of the All India Congress Committee has touched the second part of the Gaya resolutions, and that part of it has thereby been suspended. If people think, that under those circumstances the Gaya, resolution has left the position the same as it was at Gaya, they are welcome to that belief, but in his opinion the resolution

which is partly suspended cannot be said to be left intact.

Constructive Work

Question :—How are you going to assist in the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress ? Do you think you would have any time at all to devote to this work just at present, when you are engrossed with Council propaganda ?

Answer :—It may be, said Mr, Das, that for a few months we may be more actively engaged in the matter of elections, but there will be plenty of time after the elections for constructive work, and even now all of us need not be engaged in Council work. We can divide the work and carry on both at the same time.

Question :—But is it your view that there is a sufficent number of workers in your party for both ?

Answer :—I cannot say, but if all the Congress workers co-operate I am hopeful. If Madras raises two lakhs of rupees, we can find sufficient men for both. It is all a question of money, for money will help in getting men, as even workers must live and cannot live without money.

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AT KUMBAKONAM

Desabandhu's tour in Tamil Nadus was a triumphal procession, so far as the vast majority of the people were concerned. But there were a few people who felt their vested interests were threatened by the new, manly, and self-reliant gospel which the Desabandu was carrying from place to place. More, they felt that the people were being rapidly converted to the Swarajya Party's programme. Those people were determined to fight. Afraid of fighting in the open, they chose the cowardly mask of anonymity and attacked Das and his party in scurrilous anonymous pamphlets, circulated broadcast on the eve of the Desabandhu's arrival at Kumbakonam.

"But truth is like a torch. The more it is shook, the more it shines." And Desabandhu answers to those pamphlets, with such dignity and self-restraint, and with such humour and such feeling for his country-men, "who know not what they do", that one almost feels thankful to these pamphleteers for having drawn out the great leader.

He begins by deploring the cowardice of the anonymous writers and publishers of the pamphlets, and wonders whether a new party pledged to such tactics is being formed inside the Congress. He refers with legitimate pride to the open manner in which the Swarajya Party went about its work. He answers categorically the charges levelled against his party. If there are Vakils in his party, so there are in the Congress. But, why should they be treated as untouchables ? There are no title-

holders in his Party, but he knows of some in the Congress.

He explains how his programme also aims at keeping the ideal of non-co-operation before the people. He denies all responsibility for the fall of Khaddar and shows how the Congress is responsible for it.

If he was called a rebel once, are they not rebels, who now egg on Provincial Congress organisations to rebel against the All-India Congress Committee ? He has a majority in some Congress Committees : but has advised them not to rebel against the Congress. For he respects the constitution of the Congress, while others do not. With clear legal acumen, he exposes the bogey of the All-India Congress Committee's decision, being *ultra vires* of its powers. He concludes this powerful speech in these memorable words. "The world is laughing at us now, at our bomhast—valiant words and cowardly inactivity. I appeal to you to help me in rescuing the Congress from this condition." No wonder that he carried the audience with him.

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ON arrival, Mr. Das was met by Mr. Thiruvengadatha Aiyangar and taken along some of the principal streets, to the Town High School near which a large crowd was waiting to take him in procession to the meeting place. Mr. Das acknowledged the greetings extended to him, but excused himself from proceeding in procession for reasons of health. This no doubt, caused some disappointment, but in view of the reason given, the crowd, though so dense as to make it impossible for any vehicle to pass,

adjusted themselves readily and well, and made the way clear for Mr. Das's car.

The meeting took place in the maidan a few furlongs from the Town Hall and was a big one. Bigger meetings had been, it is stated, held formerly; but from the point of orderliness, this demonstration was almost exceptional. This was specially so, in view of the apprehensions during the earlier part of the day, that the meeting would not be quite peaceful, due to counter-propaganda by a certain section of the people. A few hours before the arrival of Mr. Das, printed Tamil leaflets were circulated in the name of the "Congress-men of Kumbakonam," decrying the Swaraj party, in choice expressions, characterising it as one composed of lawyers and title-holders and warning the public against deception. Coloured handbills had also been issued broadcast, satirising the Swarajists as a dramatic party and Mr.Das and its Madras leaders as the principal actors.

The pamphlets were put into the hands of Mr. Das, who turned them to his advantage and in an effective manner he used them to hang his arguments on, in pressing the Swarajya party's programme on the attention of the public. The whole of his speech was devoted to answering the charges levelled against the party in the anonymous pamphlets, and it was so eloquent and humourous that he carried the audience with him and kept them spell-bound, except for laughter and cheering that burst out at intervals. The forebodings of trouble were falsified, and when Mr. Das resumed his seat, every one there seems to have felt

supreme satisfaction at having been present at the meeting and heard the leader of the Swarajya party.

Rao Sahib Lakshmivaraha Aiyangar read an address of welcome in the name of the people of the locality. Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Municipal Councillor, read the Municipality's address.

A Purse of Rs. 1000.

Mr. N. Thiruvengadatha Aiyangar then presented to Mr.Das a purse containing Rs. 1000, being the collections from the public towards the Swarajya Party fund.

Mr. Das's Speech.

Mr. Das rose amidst cheers and in the course of an effective speech said :

It is a matter for special congratulation that so many bodies have combined to honour the cause I represent and to hold up the banner of Swarajya. When we consider that throughout the country every body talks and thinks of Swarajya, that itself is a sign that we are very near Swaraj indeed ; and from another point of view, must it not be admitted that we are far from that goal ? There is a great deal of difference between thought and accomplishment, between resolution and achievement, and between the wish and the performance. It is this difference which divides political thought to-day. There are people whose honesty and sincerity I much admire, who seem to think that when we have passed resolutions we have served our cause. There are others who are more restless like myself and will not be satisfied, till they see something of the performance. I want to tell you

that my programme of action is intended only for the purpose of putting the Congress resolutions into practice. And that is the head and front of my offence. I feel I have been true to the spirit of the Congress resolution. I feel that my programme is intended to rescue the Congress resolutions from death. For that I owe and offer no apology. If I have sinned in that, I rejoice in so sinning. I have dedicated my life to the work of the Congress and how do you expect me to sit quiet and to see the ruin of the Congress ? As long as God gives me strength, I shall fight against this process of national ruin. I assure you my protest is not against the resolutions of the Congress. I am sorry I have not been able to satisfy everybody, in the clear enunciation of my cause. But whether it is entirely my fault, I leave it to you to judge.

Anonymous Pamphlets

I have explained over and over again that I am not departing from the real principle of non-co-operation, but apparently there are some anonymous pamphleteers to be found in this city, who think that I stand for co-operation (cries of shame, shame). I am sorry that any lover of the country should exist to-day who cannot publish pamphlets over his own signature. In the whole of my life, I have never written anything to which I was ashamed to put my signature ; and I should like my opponents whoever they are, and wherever they are, to say things in their own name, for much as I may differ from some of them or many of them, I feel for the prestige of the Congress so keenly that I am ashamed when I find that there are

Congressmen who can put forward criticisms, without having the courage to append their signatures thereto. I am not charging them with insincerity or dishonesty, but only with want of courage (laughter). I can assure you that in the great national struggle, there is nothing one can deplore so much as cowardice, But from one point of you, I am grateful to the anonymous pamphleteers. I will take the statements made in this pamphlet. I dare say they have been circulated to you and you must have read them. I will take it as an honest criticism intended only to criticise my programme. Who supplies funds, and who prints them, I do not know. Evidently another party has been formed within the Congress.

Yet Another Party

But before I proceed to examine the contents of the pamphlet couched in somewhat scurrilous language, I must point out the difference of method between the Swarajya party within the Congress and the new party that is coming into existence (Laughter). The Swarajya party was started with an open declaration by men who told the country why it is they are starting another party within the Congress, by men who put forward their principles categorically and their programme item by item. But this new party in the Congress is working in the dark. (laughter) I shall tell you why I say another party is springing into existence. When I find pamphlets distributed in a city, I gather that somebody must have sent the manuscript to the press and somebody must have culled the beautiful quotations from the newspapers including one from the "Doodle"

I know that a Press does not print manuscripts, without charges being paid or responsibility being incurred. I gather therefore that somebody has undertaken that. It may be one ; it may be more than one ; but it is distinctly a party. (laughter.) There is so much evidence of combination. And quotations are taken from newspapers of a particular type, which gives me another additional item of evidence that there is a party. Further more, the internal evidence of the statements put forward, of even the expressions, and the criticisms offered, also indicate that it is a party. I have no right to infer names and I never do what I have no right to do.

Co-operation and Non-co-operation

I will give you a few specimens from the pamphlet. The first statement is that the Swarajya party is a "co-operation party," of Vakils and Title-holders. In what sense, may I ask, is the Swarajya party a co-operation party? If truth were told, all parties within the Congress are co-operation parties. These ardent congressmen are not aware that the Congress Resolutions have not up to now claimed to apply non-co-operation. Can you conceive of non-co-operation when the people are paying taxes to the Government ? Dr. Varadarajulu is the only gentleman who is a non-co-operator (loud applause), and although I am fully aware of the futility of only one person refusing to pay taxes, still I honour a man who has the courage to stick to what he believes. If such a man had told me that I was co-operating with the Government, I should plead guilty to that charge. But in extenuation

of my offence, I should plead that everybody except himself is doing that in India to-day. The fact is that the Congress has not called for non-co-operation yet. The Congress has merely declared that the Congress will call for non-co-operation on a day, when the Congress feels that the country is ready to apply the same. The Congress has merely declared that till that time, certain steps are to be taken, not for applying non-co-operation, but for making the country fit to apply it. If what the Congress has enjoined is non-co-operation, taking the word loosely, then there is nothing in my programme which is co-operation. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal more of that kind of non-co-operation in my programme, than in the present programme of the Congress. I have heard the stock argument that although people tell lies, you should ask them to speak the truth. I shall accept the argument. What does it mean? It means that you ought to hold the ideal before the people. But it is not true to say that people are speaking the truth. If non-co-operation in the Congress means holding up before the people the ideal of non-cooperation, I have no quarrel with it. But if it is claimed that you are actually non-co-operating, I say that it is not true. I believe in putting forward the ideal of non-co-oparation, because my firm conviction is that Swaraj can never be attained without non-co-operation. But non-co-operation is impossible, unless you create a spirit of resistance amongst the people. That Sakthi can never be generated without contest. I have therefore asked you to put forward your best men for

the Councils and for the Assembly, so that they may enter there with the spirit of non-co-operation. If they go there to wreck the reforms, is that co-operating with the Government? I think even there the pamphleteer will admit that I am not co-operating with the government. You can as well say Kemal Pasha, when he entered the Allied grounds, was co-operating with the enemy. (laughter) I shall not answer the questions whether we shall succeed in securing a majority, what will follow when we are in a minority, and so on. It is impossible to answer these questions unless and until the events happen. Sita proved her honour by going through successive ordeals. Therefore before the ordeals are over, these gentlemen, however wise they may be, have got no right to say that we shall be unworthy of the cause which we represent. But if we are not returned in a majority, whose fault is that, pray? It is the fault of the people. If your triple boycott could have failed, why assume that my boycott will also fail? Why quarrel over that, so much, pray? If you could justify your triple boycott on the assumption that you are holding forth the ideal, am I not justified in holding forth the ideal within the Councils even if I fail to secure a majority? Why then, this cry? Why this fury? Why this abuse?

Vakils and Title-holders?

Then these anonymous critics go on to say that our Party is a party of vakils. I should not have thought that it was a charge to be pressed by those who believe in the doctrine of Ahimsa. I think this

province is full of untouchables. May I ask, are these gentlemen trying to create another class of untouchables? (Laughter). But is it in our party alone that Vakils flourish? If I had not known something of Congress institutions, this charge might have been brought. I do not go through the world with my eyes shut; and even in this sacred province I have come across officials of Congress Committees who are wicked Vakils. (laughter.) The third charge is that our party is a party of title-holders. I have not got any title; you can accept that statement and I can tell you, and with a safe conscience, that the Government never offered me one. I hope you will believe me when I say that I am not looking out for one. My friend Pandit Motilal was never decorated, except by the people who referred to him as Lalmathi. Go through the lists of members of our Executive Council, and I do not think you will find a single title-holder. I can quote instances of high officials of the Congress and Presidents of conferences who hold big titles; but I will not name them. I think you will see that Himsa has a great deal more to do with these pamphlets than Ahimsa.

The Fall of Khaddar

Then we are told that our party does not emphasise Khaddar. I invite these gentleman—I do not know whether they are here or not—but I expect them here, even as serpents who having stung hover round the place—I invite these gentlemen to honour us by reading our programme. One of the items therein is to support the Congress regarding the

constructive work. I have myself on different occasions, speaking from different platforms, referred to Khaddar. But I suppose these gentlemen mean that in every speech I did not refer to Khaddar. I admit life would be intolerable if one had to constantly refer to Khaddar. What I would like in my friends is that instead of talking about Khaddar incessantly, in season and out of season, they should do something of Khaddar work. I want them to keep intact the ideal of Kaddhar which was put forward at Bezwada. That ideal was not that factories should be started, and Khaddar should be forced on the people of this country with fifty per cent profit. I am saying so, because I personally know such institutions. If you want to do Khaddar work as an item of constructive work, go to the villages and try to make the homes of the poor people self-contained so far as cloth is concerned. The work is difficult; I admit; but whether it is difficult or not, is it any use crying about Khaddar and not doing that work? Directly you bring Khaddar in the market under competition, you kill Khaddar. The principle on which the Resolution on Khaddar was passed, was not to indulge in competition but to avoid competition. That is to say you utilise your spare moments in spinning and when the yarn is ready you get it woven by the weaver. But instead of that, what do we find? People who are closely connected with the khaddar work of the Congress have started factories, and while declaiming against mill-made cloth, they have started ginning factories also. I should have thought, that if they only added a little

power-loom that would have made a mill, and then I could go there and lead a labour strike (laughter). How low has khaddar fallen? When the idea was started at Bezwada, we described it as the symbol of liberty. Lo! and behold, within three years it has degenerated into a market matter. You will therefore pardon me if I cannot be enthusiastic about this kind of work. I put on khaddar myself; most of it is made in my own house. I can assure you I feel clean and free in khaddar, but if those who have started factroies can feel clean and free, all that I can say is that my idea of freedom and cleanliness is different from others.

Division and Rebellion

Another charge in the pamphlet is that we are dividing the country and betraying the poor people. This statement I cannot understand, for I say that I refuse to have any Swaraj which is not the Swaraj of the masses. Is it thus that I betray the masses? Is it because I say that without labour organisation, Swaraj is impossible? Is that how I betray the masses? I wish they would explain this cryptic statement. Who is dividing the Congress now? If I was a rebel in Gaya, what are you now? Talking of rebellion, what are you doing now? Raising the standard of rebellion against the All-India Congress Committee, which functions when the Congress is not sitting! They are asking the Provincial Congress Committees, which are organisations subordinate to All-India Congress Committee, to obstruct the elections. If these gentlemen had only claimed the right of personally working against such a resolution, but not in the name of the

Congress or its Committees, I should have nothing to say against it. Suppose in two Provincial Congress Committees I have got the majority. Would I be right in asking them to pass resolutions calling upon people to enter the Councils? I can tell you there are some Provincial Congress Committees where we have majorities. And when they asked my advice, I told them that they were bound to follow the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee. Minorities have the right to act in their individual capacity, but that Minority which raises the standard of rebellion and acts in the name of the Congress is a Minority which does not know what order is and what constitution is. I see in the newspapers they are saying that the All-India Congress Committee's resolution is against the Resolution of the Congress.

The Question of Ultra Vires

Who is to decide the question of *ultra vires*? Suppose you went to a court of law, and raised the question of jurisdiction. If the Court decides the question against you, are you going out to all courts in the universe saying that the decision is wrong? If the question of *ultra vires* is raised, it must be decided constitutionally. It has been decided constitutionally, without protest. The very speakers who are now agitating the public, some of them at any rate, did not even refer to this point at the Bombay meeting. Some of them expressed the contrary view, only a few days ago. One of them admitted to me that there is no question of *ultra vires*, and that the All-India Congress Committee has got the power of dealing with the

question. But I do not deny the right of anybody to change his opinion (laughter). I have not the least doubt that they are honest in expressing the two views on the two occasions. If they change their opinion, are they to blame me, because I have not?

Is the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to be flouted, because in the opinion of some of the members, it is a wrong decision? And are these people to charge me with rebellion? I am referring to this, because I find an echo of the same in the anonymous pamphlet. "Don't join the rebels." "Don't accept the decision of the All-India Congress Committee." There is complete correspondence between the anonymous pamphlet and what I read in the newspapers. I do not for a moment say that the two things are connected with one another. Great minds think alike. (laughter) It is to this unconscious correspondence I am referring.

Rescue the Congress

Then there are some choice expressions—"Don't join the party which is murdering the Congress." We are murdering the Congress, because we are trying to make it live! I feel absolutely convinced that two more years of such paper resolutions and the Congress will go to the dust, I appeal to you in the name of all that is sacred and holy, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi not to do anything which will lower the Congress any further. The world is laughing at us and at our bombast now! Valiant words and cowardly inactivity. ! I appeal to you to help me in rescuing the Congress from this condition. (Cheers)

AT CHIDAMBARAM

Chidambaram is one of the most sacred cities in South India, where the Lord Siva dances the eternal dance of spiritual bliss, tramping down evil, and illustrating the Vedantic ideal of Sat-chit-Ananda, existence, knowledge, and bliss. It is appropriate therefore that at the place, Mr. Das should have shaken himself free from technicalities and explained the philosophical basis of his programme. He is a hard task-master and he challenged his admirers who had honoured him with garlands of flowers and asked them whether they were earnest in their desire to fight for Swaraj. "Otherwise, these flowers are insults to me."

He then discusses the philosophy of Non-co-operation and explains the 'Aye' and 'Nay' of Non-co-operation. He wants the people of India to steer clear of ineffective Liberalism on the one hand and inane Non-co-operation on the other.

Mr. Das is a poet of no mean order, and he gives in this lecture a beautiful picture of the course of a mountain stream and calls on the people to observe and follow that course in national life. "Is it the Councils that are impeding your progress? Then flow through them."

He concludes with a powerful plea for a change in the method of Non-co-operation. "You want an umbrella to protect you from the rain. When the rain comes in front of you, you hold it in front of you. Is it to be said whichever direction the rain takes, you must always hold your umbrella in front of you?"

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ON arrival, Desabandhu Das was greeted by a large number of townsmen. Agreeably to Mr. Das's desire, a procession which had been originally arranged for, with *melam* and band, was

abandoned but all the elements of a procession were however there. The road by which Mr. Das was to proceed was so narrow and crowds were so thick that as the motor-car in which Mr. Das and party were seated, was driven along, the whole mass of people was moving with it, the spectacle was really grand and the local people say that the reception was unparalleled in its enthusiasm. At street-corners, prominent men, merchants and landholders paid their respects to Mr. Das in the usual fashion.

In the evening, Mr. Das attended a public meeting in the holding of which all public bodies co-operated, including the Municipal Council. The spacious local theatre where the gathering was brought together was filled to over-flowing by all classes of people. As Mr. Das and party entered the meeting place, they received a rousing ovation, and the applause with which they were greeted was kept up untill the leaders took their seats on the platform.

Addresses were read on behalf of the Municipal Council, the Congress Committee and Khilafat Committee, the Volunteers and also on behalf of a few rich landholders. All these eulogised the services of Mr. Das in the cause of the country, while the addresses presented by the local Congress men expressed approval of the Swarajya party's Programme.

Municipalities and Swaraj

Mr. Das thanked the gathering for the addresses, and said that as he listened to them a question suggested itself to him, viz., what it was that brought all this association together. It was generally believed

that Municipalities had nothing to do with the question of Swaraj. That idea rested on a misconception of what Swaraj was. Everybody who had anything to do with Municipalities from the Chairman to the meanest scavenger was a soldier in the battle of Swaraj. However much they may try to divide their national life, municipal, political, and so on, and make compartments out of them, a time will come when all these compartments would be broken through, because national life was one and would not admit of any artificial compartments. He then asked why the Zamindars welcomed him, knowing that he had always been a friend of the labourers and the peasants. It was because in Indian culture there was a spirit of synthesis, which did not agree with the fierce struggles of which Europe was full to-day. A defect of the progressive movements in Europe was that they had no spiritual basis. But the Indian philosophy was to live and let live. There was room in this country for every class, and every section and, community had a right to fulfil itself. The larger life of the country cannot thrive unless their separate interests fulfil themselves. Let them think of a garden, where there were flowers of many shapes, of many colours and of many scents. But the beauty of the garden was enhanced,not by the shrinking of a class of flowers but by the full blooming of the whole garden. Each little flower that blossomed fulfilled itself and contributed to the larger life of the garden. Such was society, nationality and humanity. He welcomed the address of the landholders as evidence of the recognition of this great principle.

A Terrible Responsibility

What it was that made the Khilafat, the Congress and the Swaraj party to come together and present him with addresses? The answer lay in the fact that all these bodies were stirring with the desire for Swaraj, though each might have different ideas of Swaraj. The addresses also recognised that he was fighting for Swaraj. If he was the fortunate recipient of these addresses, he could not allow himself to forget the burden and the duty which they cast on him. But they also could not forget their duties in connection with it. The reading of addresses was not a luxury, but it implied, if they were honest enough for that purpose, that they were prepared to fight for Swaraj. What did leaders like him, who came and went, matter in the history of the nation, if only the national movement were continued? If it pleased them to place this charge in his hands, he prayed that God might grant him strength to fight it. But let them not forget that they were taking upon themselves a terrible responsibility. He was an exacting creditor. If they recognised his leadership, he would not allow them to put him off by presentations of addresses, and flowers, processions and music. That night, he would ask them to make their final decision. "If your attitude of mind is that if Swaraj comes, well and good; and if you are called on to do something for it, you are prepared to do it; but you are not prepared to sacrifice yourself. If this is your idea, then I tell you these addresses are insults to me. Garlands sting me like scorpions. I am terribly in earnest. I warn you against honouring me,

unless you are prepared to honour the great national life which is opening out in our front. If Swaraj is a luxurious thought with which you want to pride yourselves, pray, do not insult the name of freedom by indulging in that luxury. If Swaraj is a determined purpose with you, and if you have made the final and irrevocable decision in the name of the God you worship, and in the name of the country, I shall ask you to come with me and to fight the fight, and know no rest till you have attained your desire. If you are not so prepared, go back; there is plenty of time. There are other people elsewhere who will do it and lay down their lives for Swaraj if you are cowards enough not to accept the fight".

The 'Aye' and 'Nay' of N. C. O.

The only method by which it is possible to fight the bureaucracy, is non-violent non-co-operation. Let them not misunderstand that expression. He had seen young men coming to him and saying that they were worshippers of Shakti and therefore they did not believe in non-violence. They must have had a poor conception of Shakti. Shakti has infinite manifestations. Violence is one form of it. Non-violence is another, though a higher, manifesation. It was non-violence of life and not cowardice of death. By non-violent non-co-operation, he did not mean such non-co-operation as did not mean fight. The Brahmin of old said with all the strength of *tapasya* within him, "I do not want this" the Kshatriya on the contrary said, " Iwill have it." Behind both the attitudes, there is nothing but strength. It was only a brave man that could reject, and it was

only a brave man that could possess. Whether they rejected or possessed anything, there must be the srength of nationality behind them. They must be men, before they could offer non-co-operation. He wanted them to realise that if they wanted Swaraj, they must stand up like men and face the Bureaucracy. With all the strength of Brahminism within you, you must tell the Bureaucracy "I do not want this rubbish," and at the same time with all the strength of a Kshatriya you must tell the Bureaucracy, "I will have my Swaraj." That is the eternal process of development, rejection and possession. That is the eternal 'yes and no' of non-co-operation. Those, who said non-co-operation was only, "nay, nay, nay," did not know what "aye" was. It was only people without life, and those who advanced principles in which utility was extinct who would say "nay" like cowards. Saying 'no' in feeble voices and talking, arguing, and being engaged in interminable disquisitions of logic and metaphysics, they did not see the strength which lay underneath and enveloping the eternal 'nay.' He wanted them to steer clear of ineffective liberalism on one side and inane non-co-operation on the other. He wanted them to non-co-operate in the truest sense of the word. He wanted them to gather strength, without which no natural movement could proceed.

Like a Mountain Stream.

Do you know, what national life is like? It is like a mountain stream meandering from the hills. As it comes down, it gathers strength and that strength makes it flow. It cuts through the

mountain its own course and flows on. If there is a stone, it brushes aside the stone. If there is a small plant there which impedes its flow, it brushes aside that plant. It rises superior to obstacles and every time it does so, it becomes stronger and so on it proceeds from victory to victory and from triumph to triumph. When victorious, it forms a large river. It mixes with other streams and increases its strength and with the fulfilment of its triumph it falls into the sea. That is the non-co-operation, I want you to accept. You must proceed onwards from victory to victory and from triumph to triumph. Is Government education impeding your course? Brush it aside and move on. Are law courts impeding your cause? Brush them aside. Is it the Councils that are impeding your progress? Then flow through them. Once you remember the figure of the mountain stream, you will at once realise that there is no difference between destruction and construction. What you have got to do is to construct your path and create your Swaraj. That is what the mountain stream does. It destroys the stones which impede its progress. It destroys trees and plants. It eats into earth. All that is destruction; and all that is creation also. Is not Nature full of this dual manifestation of creation and destruction? There is the storm which devastates and the flood which brings water. But does not the storm clear the atmosphere and does not the flood make your soil productive? Nothing in this world lives, and yet everything that there is, eternally lives. You die and your body is burnt to ashes; but out of your

bones, blood, and muscle spring a thousand energies which go round this universe and break into a thousand forms of manifestation. If that is the truth about Nature, is that also not the truth of human life ? Think of your inner life. Have you not destroyed old ambitions to create new ones ? Have you not built your mental system on destruction and construction ? I want you to realise the great truth ; and think of the problems which face you. There is no place in India at present which we can call our own. It is impossible therefore to create without destruction and to do anything without displacing the bureaucracy ; and the best way of doing it is by following my programme of action.

Change of Method Necessary

The situation demands a change in your programme. You have not succeeded in boycotting the Council in the way that you wanted to do. I want you to boycott the Councils in another way, and this time you may succeed. There is nothing eternal or inflexible in practical politics. As the Bureaucracy changes its direction of activity, so must we change ours, in pursuing our programme of non-co-operation. You want an umbrella to protect you from the rain. When the rain comes in front of you, you hold it in front of you. Is it to be said whichever direction rain takes, you must always hold your umbrella in front of you ? Non-co-operation is a method. But that method in order to succeed must be adjusted to the changed circumstances every year. Otherwise your non-co-operation will be a discredited *mantram*. It would be

uttered by the seemingly pious, as the worldly Vaishnavas count beads. There is no spirituality in that kind of counting beads. There is no spirituality or life in non-co-operation when it ceases to live and move, when it degenerates into a worthless dogma. I appeal to you to embrace life, to maintain with dignity the living principle which is behind non-co-operation, to realise the real dharma upon which it is based. If you want to realise clearly with a fixed determination, that if you want to attain Swarajya, it must be by a continuous and persistent fight with the Bureaucracy. (Cheers).

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AT TRICHINOPOLY

A PUBLIC reception was held in the evening in the Town Hall square, where nearly five thousand people were present, representative of the different communities. As Desabandhu ascended the dais, accompanied by Mr. Phookan, he was greeted with vociferous cheering. Five addresses were presented, extending a warm welcome to him and referring to his unparalleled sacrifices and services to the country. Mr, Sethuratnam Ayyar read the people's address, while Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb presented the address on behalf of the District Congress Committee, which emphasized on unity. 'We fervently hope,' they said ' that it would not be impossible for the two wings of the Congress to avoid mutual recrimination and work with respect and toleration and undivided enthusiasm and vigour the various items of the constructive programme of the Congress. We believe and trust that in this we are one and undivided. '

Mr. Das's Speech.

Replying to the addresses, Mr. Das justified the Swarajya party's programme and repudiated the statements of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar made in the course of the interview published in the Madras Press a few days ago. The speech was heard with considerable interest and it is felt to have produced a remarkable effect on the audience and was translated into Tamil by Mr. S. Satyamurti. The following is the full text.

Friends, allow me to thank you for the addresses, which you have presented to me this evening. I feel

that I am very fortunate indeed to have evoked so much love and affection. You have referred in all the addresses, in a somewhat exaggerated form, to the little that I may have succeeded in doing. But when I compare the petty done with the vast undone, I can assure you I am filled with a sense of humiliation. It is because of my unworthiness, I feel the burden of your kindness. When the heart is full of gratitude, words will not come, and if I cannot express what is passing in my mind, you will put it down to my inablity. I shall never forget the kindness which I have received in Madras. I shall never forget the kind welcome which has been accorded to me whereever I have gone. I can assure you that in the work which is in store for me, your kindness will be a source of great inspiration. Whether I succeed or whether I fail,—many of my friends question the chances of my success—I feel sure of one thing, that the heart of the country is with me. I started with this hope at Gaya and my experience all over India has confirmed my belief. What was a hope in Gaya is a living faith today. It is on your help that I rely. I know that I have got your heart, but I want your active energy. I am blessed or cursed with a temperament which cannot think of failure or defeat. In fact, in Gods' world, no work which is undertaken honestly can ever be a failure. In that faith I shall persevere, and God willing I shall succeed. (Applause.)

Reply to Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar

The Congress Committee Address rightly refers to the harmony which should be the result of the All-

India Congress Committee's Resolution. I entirely agree with you. In fact, that resolution should be accepted in the spirit in which it was passed. But let me refer to an event. The expected has happened. Mr. Vijayaraghavachari has unburdened himself. He is a personal friend of mine and a very kind-hearted gentleman. Somehow or other, years have brought to him not wisdom nor discretion (Laughter,) but a growing antipathy towards Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself, a narrowing of vision and what psychologists call fixation of idea. (renewed laughter) Ever since a particular interesting episode in his Presidential career which took place at Bombay, people have noticed a kind of antipathy—I want to avoid any stronger expression—to whatever Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself do. With regard to this, some friends of mine have told me that the views which find expression in the famous interview in to-day's papers are not his real view but the outcome of his antipathy. Whatever may be our differences of opinion, I refuse to believe this, but it may be that this antipathy works unconsciously and colours his views. When I read this interview and the various statements made in it, it was impossible for me to put down all that to the Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya that I knew. The practice of law is a dangerous profession. It trains you to be ready at all times with interminable arguments for and against any imaginable view, and a long and continuing career at the Bar has sharpened and deepened this habit in my friend. You will understand the truth of my proposition when I analyse his interview before you. I have carefully

analysed it, because the views of such a great man have to be carefully considered. But before I do so, let me make this statement, I have never had so many misrepresentations of my views compressed into such a short space before. I leave out the abuses with reference to myself, because he is a very good friend of mine and it is permissible to a friend to abuse his friend. I therefore leave out matters of abuse.

He attacks the compromise arrived at at the All-India Congress Committee meeting as a national misfortune. He bases this argument on two grounds. Firstly he says it is a constitutional misfortune, and secondly he says that this compromise, mark you the words, has injured the Congress in body and spirit. He then states the different grounds upon which he bases these charges. In the first place, he says that the All-India Congress Committee has no power to suspend a resolution of the Congress. One would have thought that it is a constitutional question he is raising. But when you examine the ground upon which he puts this want of power you will be surprised. He traces the history of this topic of Council-entry from the All-India Congress at Gaya. Having done that, he delivers himself of this extraordinary statement, He says, " the very idea of a new situation before the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay the other day, is too palpably absurd to have commanded credence."

The All-India Congress Committee's Powers.

Stripped of its tawdry trimmings, the argument amounts to this—that the All-India Congress Com-

mittee had no power to suspend the Gaya resolution because in the opinion of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar it has come to a wrong decision. He knows the distinction between want of constitutional power and a wrong decision on a particular matter. It is one thing to say that a Court has no power to decide and another thing to say that it has decided a question wrongly. The logical conclusion of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar's argument is that the All-India Congress Committee has the power to decide, but that it has come to a wrong conclusion ; because although the All-India Congress Committee decides that there was a new situation, in the opinion of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, there was no new situation. (Laughter). You can easily see therefore when Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, says that the All-India Congress Committee had no power to suspend a resolution of the Congress because there was no new situation, all that he means is that the All-India Congress Committee has in his opinion wrongly decided the question. I can understand a man saying that he does not care for a resolution of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee, that he does not agree with it, that he will act in a contrary way, not in the name of the Congress but in his own name. That liberty is open to the minority, as Mahatma Gandhi has over and over again recognised. But that is not the position which Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar takes up. He voices the opinion of the majority and he says that the All-India Congress Committee's resolution must be disregarded. His offence would be exactly the same as mine,

if I had gone to the country and said that whatever the decision of the majority might be, I shall run the elections in the name of the Congress. That is not the attitude which I have taken. I have freely conceded that as long as the Gaya Congress Resolution stands, I cannot act contrary to it in the name of the Congress. What is to be said of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar and his friends, who want to act contrary to the All-India Congress Committee's decision in the name of the Congress ? That is not only rebellion but encouraging the spirit of disobedience within the Congress constitution.

" Let us now go to the next ground:" says Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar this is the second argument which he advances to show that the All-India Congress Committee has no power constitutionally— " It was open to the All-India Congress Committee to summon a special session of the Congress to deal with it instead of grappling with it itself." Of course it was open to the All-India Congress Committee to decide either to suspend the Resolution or to call for a special session of the Congress. If the All-India Congress Committee has power to do either the one or the other, how can it be said because it did one of these things, it exceeded its power ? With great skill my friend has blended questions of constitutional power with questions of prejudice. (Laughter). And to add point to his irrelevent unconstitutional argument, he says this ; " But that was made impossible by the melancholy and extraordinary declaration of Desabandhu Das that he would not guarantee his party's

submission to an adverse decision of any such special Congress." This is of course a misrepresentation ; but assuming it is not a misrepresentation, what has my declaration got to do with the constitutional question as to whether the All-India Congress Committee had the power or did not have the power ? But I have to tell you what actually happened, to clear up such misrepresentation.

Question of a Special Congress.

I tell you how the matter of the special Congress stands. At Gaya our party proposed that a special session be called at the end of three months to discuss the question of Council-entry again. Various amendments were proposed with that view, but every one of them was rejected. After the Gaya Congress was over, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad tried his very best to bring about a compromise. He proposed, and he asked me to agree to, a special session of the Congress. I told him—I make no secret of it—that knowing the Congress organizations as I did, I had very grave doubts, whether at the time of elections, fair dealings could be secured. Upon that he said 'you may impose your terms.' I told him that I could agree to this proposal, provided that in every Congress Committee there are two Secretaries, one supporting the majority point of view and one supporting our point of view. I also mentioned some other conditions. Moulan Abdul Kalam Azad agreed to these condisions and they were written down. We met again at Allahabad to consider this question of compromise and

this proposal for a special session of the Congress with my conditions was rejected by the majority party. That was in February. Under the compromise which was accepted our party had to remain inactive for two months, that is down to the end of April. The All-India Congress Committee meeting was held on the 25th May. Just consider what the proposal of a special session of the Congress would mean to us. You could not have that session, before August or the end of July, and the elections would have commenced within a month from that So, that was a proposal which meant practical abandonment of what I have been fighting for throughout the year. The special session of the Congress was not accepted by the Majority Party at a time when I was ready to accept it. My friends might as well have asked me on the 25th of May to give up my plan with regard to the capture of Council. It is this attitude which is referred to by Mr. Vijayaraghavachari as a melancholy and extraordinary declaration. And even then I had no time to consult the party. On the 25th May when I took my seat, I was asked whether I could bind my party to accept the decision of the special session of the Congress. I declared the only thing I could declare with honesty. I said that so far as I was concerned I was positively against the proposal of the special session at that time; and that so far as the party was concerned I had no power to bind them without consulting them formally. Mr. Vijayaraghavachari is a constitutional authority. (Laughter.) Supposing by some chance he belonged

to our party, would he not have said, if I had bound my party, "What right had you to bind this party? You are unconstitutional ; you are an autocrat." And what Mr. Vijayaraghavachari could say, could not lesser lights say ?

Question of Precedents

Then he discusses the quesion of precedents. With characteristic fairness, he puts an argument into my mouth and the mouth of my party which is absolutely a misrepresentation. I said at the All-India Congress Committee meeting over which I was elected to preside, that not only does the rule allow the All-India Congress Committee to suspend the Resolution of the Congress, but that there was a precedent for it because the Ahmedabad resolution of Civil Disobedience was suspended by the Bardoli Working Committee meeting. Other people added another instance, the compromise at Allahabad itself. That was also a suspension of the Congress Resolution and was assented to unanimously by the All-India Congress Committee. These are the constitutional precedents to which our party refered. The argument amounts to this—that not only does the rule allow it, but that the Congress has shown by applying the rule that it is capable of that interpretation. Just see how Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar puts that argument. "The argument that Mahatma Gandhi has often acted in violation of the constitutional rules or principles cannot bear a rigorous examination." These people seem to think that the only way to demolish all argument is to mention the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

(Laughter and cheers) I ask you to consider who are guilty of irreverence to Mahatma Gandhi—I who have always spoken in a spirit of veneration of him or these people who drag his name in season and out of reason to bolster up a false argument. (Hear, hear.) He puts this scandalous statement as my argument or as the argument of my party. Where have I ever said that Mahatma has violated constitutional principles? On the contrary, I have always asserted that Mahatma was right in suspending the Ahmedabad Resolution constitutionally. What is the object of diverting the argument into this channel? Is it to show that in my argument I had attacked Mahatmaji? Does it not amount to lifting the finger of scorn at me—"Look here! this man has charged the Mahatma as having broken constitutional principles." There is not an iota of truth in this charge. On the other hand, I rely on that precedent. My argument is that Mahatmaji was quite right; he was within the constitution in suspending through the Working Committee tho Resolution of the Congress. Yet this unblushing misrepresentation is put forward in the name of argument! Having perpetrated this monstrosity, (laughter) Mr. Vijayaraghavachari goes on to say, "Look here, one wrong cannot justify another,"

Examine the arguments again. When you assume that it is wrong, why, you assume the whole thing. The question is whether the All-India Congress Committee has got the power, and I say that not only the words of the Constitution give that power but that as a matter of fact that power has been exercised and

constitutionaly exercised in the past. The answer is "one wrong does not justify another "If you start with the assumption that it is wrong, then argument is of no use. What I want to press upon you is this—that Mr. Vijayaraghavachari who is such a wonderful exponent of constitutional law and such a clear lawyer, could not see the complete irrelevance of his argument. Is it the unconscious working of the antipathy to which I have referred ?

Mr. Acharaya's Pity

Having delivered himself of these wonderful propositions of constitutional law. he is asked by the interviewer, " Do you think congress people should obstanct the Council elections now ? " But even in answering this question, my dear friend can not resist the temptation of havjng a fling at me. (Laughter.) I cannot be sorry for it, if it has brought peace to his restless mind. He eays, "Leave the Swarajya Party alone. Both pity and policy demand such a course." That he should have pity for me in spite of the unconscious antipathy speaks volumes for his goodness of heart and I can assure him I am overwhelmed with gratitude. But he expresses the hope, in delivering himself of this message of pity —that the Swarajya party is bound to fail. I am glad of that also, because I remember Mr. Vijayaragavachar's speech at the special session at Calcutta. If he expresses the hope that I am bound to fail, I take it as a benediction that I am bound to succeed.

I am comparatively a very humble person. But at the Calcutta Congress Mr. Vijayaraghavachari trea-

ted Mahatma Gandhi in the same inevitable style. He attacked this boycott of Councils in language which is quite strong and quite characteristic of Mr. Vijiyaragavachari. This report (Mr. Das held in his hand the back number of the 'Mahratta') says "Mr. Vijiaraghavacharya strongly argued against the boycott of Councils" and amongst the many arguments he put forward, I remember one distinctly. He said that Mahatmaji was trading on his past reputation. After that, what am I? Mahatma Gandhi dealt with this argument in a very touching manner. It just expresses the sweetness of his temperament. He said that, "nothing Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar has said of me would affect my regard for Mr. Vijiaraghavachair; but I am really pained to see Mr. Vijiaraghavachair suggest that I might be trading on my past reputation. I assure you I would never do so." After all, I have not lost all hope of Mr. Vijiaraghavacharya and I can almost say that this very Mr. Vijiaraghavacharya after a few months will bless my programme. Whatever arguments Mr. Vijiaraghavachari may advance, he has got the spirit of constitutionalism within him. Therefore when this question was put to him, he said, "Leave the Swarajya Party alone. "(Laughter) One can almost see the merry twinkle in his eyes.

Attacks on the Party Answered.

Mr. Vijiaragavachari has not only dealt with the All-India Congress Committee resolution but has tried to attack the principles of the Swarajya party and his statements on the Swarajya party are just

as exaggerated as his statements on the question of the constitution. One feels that he is angry with me; but one cannot discover the reason of his anger. He deals with the principles of our party as 'the unintelligible gospel of Mr. Das; and when he puts forward his arguments and his reasons, it is quite clear, whether my principles are intelligible or not, that this gentleman has not understood them. First of all he attacks the name. He does things thoroughly —this friend of mine. He says there are two questions— the object and the plan. "Swaraj is the object of everybody, of the Congress, of the Liberals, of the Moderates and even of the Bureaucracy". (Laughter) I am not joking. You will find this sentence in the interview. Having stated this, he gets terribly angry. One almost imagines that all the time he is working himself up to the bursting point; and then he does burst. Witn fine scorn he says the name "Swarajya party" is a libel on the Congress and the Mahatma. That Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself should form a party and call it the Swarajya party is too much for his perturbed mind. He says that Swarajya is the object everybody has, and asks, why should these people appropriate the name of Swarajya? He cannot imagine that the plan also might have something to do with the choice of the name. His narrow vision does not enable him to see that we are a party within the Congress and that we put the whole of our accent on Swarajya and that therefore we call it the 'Swarajya party.' Nobody can be a member of the 'Swarajya party' who is not a member of the Congress

and we have taken the name from the Congress. We are Congressmen and we are entitled to use the name just as must as Mr. Vijiaraghavachari. Our party is a party of protest, protest against particular interpretations of the gospel of non-co-operation. We honestly believe that the way in which non-co.operation is being interpteted nowadays will not lead to Swaraj. We claim to interpret the gospel of non-co-operation in that light which will enable us to attain Swaraj. The name is adopted because our object is that and because, our plan also is that.

Charge of Vagueness.

Now, listen to his objections to the Swarajya party. They are mainly two. Firstly, he says, "It has not been propounded clearly." "it" being the plan. Why? We have put it down in our programme, as clearly as it is possible for any numan being to put it. Of course, it is possible to imagine various circumstances as to how the principles should be applied to such circumstances. Nobody can read the future, not even Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar. (Laughter). Is it necessary therefore for a gentleman to enter into the future and put down all the different circumstanecs—permutations and combinations of them—and say that under circumstances A.B.C. the Swarajya party will do this, under circumstances D.E.F., another course, G.H.K, yet another course and so on ? Apparently according to Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, the Congress has propounded its plan quite clearly. I put this question every day but I cannot get any answer. Suppose a Congress leader goes to a district and the district

Collector passes an order under Section 144. Is it to be obeyed or to be disobeyed? Has the Congress plan put that down quite clearly? I suppose the answer would be "it depends on the circumstances." If the Congress plan itself is not capable of such clear definition, why should Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar expect such impossible clarity from us? To those who want to ascertain the position clearly, it is sufficiently clearly stated in our programme. But if the object is only to criticize, I can realise the difficulty of critics when they do not get sufficient details. I suppose Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar has found out from his professional career that the longer the judgment of the lower Court, the more easy it is to criticise it. (Laughter), And he is terribly disappointed with me because I have not given him a long essay so that he can come out with his criticism. If it is not propounded clearly, why does he not put questions upon which he would like to have our views expressed clearly?

Historical Parallels

Having put forward that inimitable argument, he naturally discovers that there is no strength in it, and then he comes out with this—there is no historical paralled. How does he know? He does not know the plan; it has not been propounded clearly! No historical parallel! May I ask Mr. Vijiyaraghavachariar whether there has been any country in the whole word which has presented circumstances exactly like those which obtain in India, whether there is any country where there is a Bureaucracy of this

description? I challenge him to deny the proposition that there never was a Bureaucracy in the whole world which interfered withe the national life of a Country, as in India. (Hear, hear) In the Congress at Calcutta when my friends were very busy in drawing up a paper constitution and making their researches into all the constitutions of the world I said, "I care not for those constitutions. I want the great Indian nation to grow up from within." Having expressed his opinion that there is no historical parallel— I would not go into that proposition just now but to my mind history is full of similar cases—Mr. Vijayaraghavachari goes into historical parallels. His habit of searching for historical parallels sits heavy on his mind. He cannot deny himself the luxury of putting forward disquisitions on historical events. His mind easily flits about from page to page of constitutional history, as a butterfly flits about from flower to flower to gather honey. I will present you now the honey he has gathered. He says that the English Parliament is a foreign Parliament, and that even Parnell did not achieve any thing there. Therefore that historical parallel is aagingt my programme. (Laughter). With great ease, he points out the distinction between the British Parliament which is a sovereign Parliament and the Indian legislatures which are not sovereign. That is exactly my point. Probably he has not done me the honour of reading my speeches. Although I am not so great as Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, on this point both of us agree. And it is because Indian legislatures are not sovereign legislatures, I have advised the country to follow not the method of Par-

nell—but a different plan altogether. I have asked the country to do exactly within the Cuoncils, what they have been advised by the Congress to do outside the Councils. It is no use reminding me that the Indian legislatures cannot give us Swaraj. Have I not declared many times that I am not expecting the Councils to give us Swaraj ? My object is to bring about such a situation in the country that even the British Parliament will be compelled to recognise our right.....What has Parnellism or historical parallels to do with my plan ?

Mahatma Gandhi

Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya, by bringing out Mahatma Gandhi again—see what use he makes of Mahatma Gandhi—has sought to create prejudice, If Mahatma Gandhi were with us, he would not have allowed any follower of his to put forward an argument like that. I have never been in the habit of disguising anything in my life. It is said—I read in the newspapers to-day —that I am no statesmen. I plead guilty to the charge. I have never taken my stand on arithmetic and the calculating ways of statesmen are not mine.But if anybody says that I have made insinuations against Mahatma Gandhi or done anything to show the slightest disrespect to the greatest man of India, I shall proclaim that to be absolutely false. I despise insinuations. If it is necessary for me to express my dissent from any programme which Mahatma Gandhi put forward,I shall do so unhesitatingly and reverentially, but I shall not be guilty of insinuations. I followed Mahatma Gandhi because my soul ascended to his. But I shall refuse to agree to anything which my

soul does not ascend to. I have the highest respect, nay veneration, for the Mahatma but I shall never trample my soul under my foot. The Mahatma knew that and I believe he respected me for that. If the argument is put forward that Mahatma Gandhi is against my programme,I refuse to accept Mahatma's message from anybody but the Mahatma himself. I can interpret him just as much as anybody else can. I refuse to acknowledge the right of anybody to say, "You are doing what Mahatmaji would not have done." I have worked with Mahatmaji for a long time, and I believe I understand him at least as anybody else does. Those who accept Mahatma's statements divorcing them from the circumstances under which those statements were made, do not understand the Mahatma. If anybody follows the statements of the Mahatma blindly, he does not know the Mahatma . , I do not wish to make any positive statement but I can say this: that it is at least a matter of grave doubt, if Mahatmaji had been amongst us today he would not have accepted partially at any rate my programme. But whatever that may be, those who refer to Mahatmaji and place constant reliance on his different propositions are a source of danger to political thought,because you are likely to overlook the circumstances under which those statements were made. Those who understand Mahatmaji as I claim to do, should always look at the cireumstances under which the different statements were made. His mind travelled with lightning speed and his activity kept pace with that speed. Mahatmaji was not only a man of action. He would proceed with his action and every time a

new problem offered itself he solved that problem and went on; and in solving the problem he put forward a proposition. Unless the same problem identical in all circumstances presented itself, you cannot apply that proposition. He shaped his policy as he ran on and he put forward his propositions as he fled on. Under those circumstances to pin your faith to any statement as an absolutely universal statement is to misjudge the Mahatmaji. Believe me, all the time he was talking aloud, as he was going on. One day I have not the least doubt he will sit down and bring out his synthetic philosophy based on the side-lights he has thrown on the problems before the country. At the present moment, instead of trying to follow his propositions literally, let us make an honest effort and an honest attempt to bring him ouf of the prison. (Hear hear and loud applause). To botanise on your mother's grave is a scientific disease. To try to dissect Mahatmaji's statements at a time when he is kept locked up by the Bureaucracy is a disease more deadly than that to which I have referred. Follow the illumination you have got; gird up your loins; fight the Bureaucracy from every possible quarter : so that they may be compelled to release Mahatma Gandhi and so that the first message of Swaraj which you compel the Government to recognise, may be delivered by that great man. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

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TANJORE.

Inner History of Non-co-operation.

AT Tanjore addresses of welcome were presented by, among others, the local Congress and Khilafat Committees, in the presence of a large gathering which met in the compound of the Besant Lodge. Mr. Das was bombarded with a number of questions as to his plan of action in the event of his party failing to capture the Councils.

Mr. Das in answering the questions at the very outset, said that general principles might be laid down and must be laid down, but to expect of him to reply to questions as to the line of conduct which would be followed under a variety of cicumstances was to expect of him to do the impossible. Therefore, if the Swarajya Party would be judged, it must be judged by the principles which it advocated.

History of the Council Question.

Mr. Das next proceeded to deal with the Council question historically. At the Amritsar Congress, before the actual programme of Non-co-operation was declared by Mahatma Gandhi, he advocated the cause of Non-Co-operation from within the Council. Mahatma Gandhi opposed it and advocated pure co-operation. There was a great division in the Congress and many people feared that the Congress was about to be broken up. It was at this juncture Loka-

manya Tilak brought in his compromise viz., responsive co-operation. This was accepted by myself and Mahatma Gandhi as a compromise. Six months after Mahatma Gandhi pronounced himself in favour of Non-Co-operation. In fact, the signatories put their signatures to the Report of the Punjab Enquiry Committee at Benares, all of them taking a vow that from that moment if the Government refused to accept the recommendations, there would be no more paper resolutions ; but that, resolutions should be backed up by something more solid. Their recommendations were exceedingly moderate and intentionally so. They wanted to put forward such recommendations as not even their opponents could say were unreasonable, and it might be remembered, that the report caused dissatisfaction in Congress circles. They were determined to put an end to the Congress of mere resolutions. Those recommendations were rejected by the Government. Immediately thereupon, Mahatma Gandhi declared his non-co-operation. This was the inner history of non-co-operation. At the special Congress at Calcutta, the fight was not whether there should be non-co-operation or not, but what shape their non-co-operation should assume. They were all agreed that the only method for obtaining Swaraj was non-co-operation.

Das's Original Position at Calcutta.

Mr. Das next read the text of the resolution on non-co-operation he had drafted and proposed at the Calcutta Congress but which was lost by a few votes. The fourth clause of this resolution runs thus—"That in the application of this policy

of non-co-operation to the new reformed councils, this Congress appeals to the new electorate to return only those candidates who will pledge themselves (a) to work for the immediate attainment of complete Swarajya by forcing an immediate amendment of the present constitution of the Government of India (b) to refuse to accept the office of minister or any other office or titles or honur from the Government (c) whenever they are in a majority to offer non-co-operation with a view to render the present system of administration impossible (d) whenever they are in a minority to resign and seek re-election again and again with the same object."

At Nagpur and After.

"I have never veered from that position; there is a belief that at Nagpur I changed my position. That is absolutely untrue. I ask you to read the Nagpur resolution and you will find nothing in it inconsistent with my position here. It was at my instance and on my insistence that the clause with regard to the boycott of Councils was removed because at the time of Nagpur Sessions, the elections were practically over. I insisted on the removal of the clause, because otherwise I said I could not support the resolution. And lower down in the same resolution you will find a clause put in again at my instance and on my insistence. But Mahatma Gandhi inserted a clause to the effect that the representatives who had been elected should be asked to resign. I objected to it on the ground that if it is in pursuance of the policy of boycott of Councils, I could not agree

to it and you will find the words that were added to that clause to meet my objection, namely the request to resign was put on the principles of democracy. At the time of the Ahmedabad Congress I was in jail. And even though I had been present, I could not have raised the question because the Councils were to run for three years and now that the three years are about to expire it is my duty to raise the question which I raised at Calcutta. Is it or is it not non-co-operation from within the Councils ? I have explained the difference from many platforms.

A Confusion Removed.

The confusion arises because whenever you mention the word Councils you are led to think that you expect Swaraj to come from the Councils. As I said in Calcutta and as I say to-day, the object is not to get Swaraj from within the Council Chambers, but to make Government through the Councils impossible. Politically considered, that is the only basis of the principle of non-co-operation. You make the Government impossible,in order to put pressure upon theGovernment to recognise your right of Swaraj. That is the object of the Congress and that is my object. Mahatma Gandhi used the very expression 'wrecking reforms'. "Therefore so far as the object is concerned, it is non-co-operation pure and simple. The idea behind the form of boycott of Councils propounded by the Congress was that the voters would not vote, that the seats within the Council would remain vacant, and that the Government could not carry on the Government within the Councils. That particular method has failed

because the seats are not vacant and I want you now to accomplish the same object by capturing the seats and by making it impossible for the Government to govern this country through the Councils. If the one method is non-co-operation, why is the other method not non-co-operation ? I can understand the objection that you will fail to do it. But that would not show that it is not non-co-operation. It will only prove that non-co-operation has again failed. If you judge of the method as to whether it is non-co-operation or not non-co-operation, you cannot judge it by the results. For instance, boycotting the Councils in the way propounded by the Congress is non-co-operation but it has failed. Therefore am I to say that it is not non-co-operation ? (Laughter.) It is confusing the issues. Any method of non-co-operation, because it fails, does not prove that it is not no-co-operation ; but that the people are not fit for it. I want to clear the fog with which the non-co-operating mind is overcast. It is better to realise the truth, that we are in the grips of the Bureaucracy. It is only then that freedom will come to you. I want you to-day to prepare yourself to capture every fort of the bureaueracy. If non-co-operation is practised rationally, every place, every position, every nook and corner of your national life and every institution must be captured.

Constructive Work

Talking of constructive work, what constructive work can you possibly do in this country ? Your villages are in the hands of Local Boards and the Bureaucracy is behind them. You must no doubt do

constructive work, but you must at the same time realise the truth that construction will not be done perfectly, before you capture the bureaucratic machinery. Night does not precede day ; Day precedes night. But time flows and when it has flowed, some of it you call day and some night. You cannot attain freedom without doing some constructive work and yet it is true you cannot do it in the way. You want it to be done without your freedom, You cannot win your freedom without national education ; but who will deny that no system of National Education of a superior kind is possible more you capture the machinery of Government ? You cannot attain your freedom without Khaddar and the Charka and yet who can deny that that work will only be possible after you have attained some part of Swaraj ? You cannot attain freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity ; but is it not true that no true unity can follow before you work together for the deliverance of your country ? You cannot fight for Swaraj before you lift up the depressed classes, and yet is it not true that you can never elevate them unless you fight with them shoulder to shoulder for the cause of Swaraj ?

Take the other item of constructive work, the enrolment of members in the Congress. Do you think it is likely to succeed unless there is a fight ? When you are giving battle to the Bureaucracy, thousands upon thousands become members. Now that you are following a policy of masterly inactivity, members are dropping off. There again the same truth holds ; you cannot win Swaraj without Congress organizations and

yet you cannot form them without commencing the fight. I therefore ask you to take up this good fight, apply the same standard of Non-Co-operation inside the Councils and outside. Capture the machinery of the Bureaucracy and compel them to recognise your right.

Questions Answered

Before resuming his seat, Mr. Das answered a question put by Mr. Pannirselvam, a local Non-Brahmin Barrister-at-Law with reference to the remarks made in the course of his Madras speech touching upon the attitude of Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty towards the political prisoners, when the question of a better treatment to them came up before the Madras Council.

"A question has been put to me on behalf of the Non-Brahmin community," stated Mr. Das replying "I do not know what the credentials of the questioner are to speak on behalf of the Non-Brahmin community."

"I am the President of the South Indian Liberal Federation for this town," interrupted Mr. Pannirselvam.

"Liberal Federation!" wondered Mr. Das and a voice at once was heard from among the audience, that it was another name for what is familiarly known as the Justice Party.

"It is absolutely of no importance to me," proceeded Mr. Das, "whether this gentleman got his title six months before or six months, after his speech in the Council, I referred to. The whole burden of my criticism was that this gentleman,—I never mentioned his name, and I merely read out the speech—

ought not to have directed his attack against those people who were fighting for the freedom of the country." Mr. Das said that his statement might be wrong and if it was wrong he would withdraw it.

Mr. Pannirselvam, rising to his feet, told Mr. Das that in the mind of any person who heard the speech or read it in print, the impression was inevitable that Mr. Chettiar made his speech in anticipation of Knighthood.

" In anticipation of Knighthood ! How can he get that intelligent anticipation ?"

Mr. Pannirselvam desired to say something more but he was prevented from doing so by an uproar which was raised by the gathering.

Mr. Das quieted the audience and said that the point he made was not against this gentleman but againgt the Bureaucracy.

" You cast a persnal aspersion, " put in Mr. Pannirselvam.

" I attacked the gentleman, " replied Mr, Das, " because he had spoken offensively of persons who went to jail for the freedom of the country."

" That is a matter of opinion."

" I expressed what was my opinion,"

" The imperession is that Sir P. T, Chetty spoke in the manner he did, in order to get the title."

"That certainly is not the impression that my words convey. The impresssion I wanted to convey was that when the Bureaucracy found a man like that they honoured him. The impression is not against the gentleman at all. I do not say that no criticism was

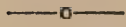
offered against him; but that criticism was only this—that within the Council Chamber he spoke against those who were fighting for the freedom of the country. That criticism I will make."

"I do not question your criticism but it leaves that impression."

"I cannot help it. It is plain English. Anybody who reads my criticism will understand that it was directed against the Government."

"I am not holding any brief for the Government; but when I read your speech, it left in me that impression. It was an unwarranted insult to the non-Brahmin community of which Sir Theagaraya Chetty is the leader."

"I an not responsible for your impression," concluded Mr. Das.



AT SHIYALI

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

FINISHING the programme in the South Arcot District Mr. Das and party took train for Shiyali. He proceeded to the Saivaite temple and addressed a big meeting in the central mantap. The gathering was not wholly of Hindus and quite a large number of Mussalmans were present.

Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar welcomed Mr. Das in a short speech. "In these days, when our mother country is passing through a critical stage in her political and social progress, the great guidance and help which leaders of the stamp of Mr. Das can give to the country, I need not tell you, is invaluable. When the work for the advancement of the country has to be organized and when small splits and differences amongst people themselves have to be effaced, people should consider their own broader national interest rather than narrow selfishness. I believe the guidance of our esteemed friend at this stage is not merely invaluable but also essentially necessary." Mr. Mudaliar next touched upon what he called the admirable qualities of Mr. Das and expressed the hope that Mr. Das would be able to bring about unity. He exhorted his hearers to co-operate with Mr. Das and help him in fulfilling his programme.

Mr. Das's Speech

Mr. Das who on rising was received with cries of Vandemataram and Alla Ho Akbar, spoke as follows:—

Friends,—I am grateful to you for this splendid reception and the very kind words of welcome. All this kindness is meant for the cause I have the good fortune to represent. Mr. Mudaliar has put my message in a nutshell when he declared that narrow selfishness must give way to wider self-consciousness. I felt the influence of that message keenly when I heard within these temple walls the cry 'Allahho Akbar.' I will say just one or two words to explain what I felt when I heard some years ago of the Non-Brahmin movement. I welcomed it with exceding joy, not because I loved Brahmins less, but because I loved India more. I felt the justice of their cause. I want you to realise that the justice of their cause lies not in the personal interests of the Non-Brahmin community. When a cry is first raised, people who raise the cry hardly understand the inner significance of it. When the Non-Brahmins raised the cry, it was their trotured self that wanted expression. It began with what may be called an acute self-consciousness. But those who know the truth know also that there is nothing in this world, which is entirely selfish and which has not along with it, another aspect which is unselfishness. Every Swartha is also a Parartha. Only those who are selfishly inclined do not know that. What is the deeper significance of the Non-Brahmin cry? Is it not the fact that through the self-consciousness of the Non-Brahman individuals the soul of this province, the national soul, is struggling to utter itself? Their justification lies in the fact that practically speaking they are the nation.....

Inner meaning of the Non-Brahmin cry

And already you find symptoms which would tell you that they are fast realising this truth. What is the inner meaning of this cry against some of the Non-Brahmin leaders at present? That which is purely personal may be brushed aside, as there is nothing so mean as to indulge in personalities. But the truth is the Non-brahmin consciousness has found out that some of their leaders are giving the Government what is due to the nation.

That is what I meant by the broadening of the basis of self-consciousness. What was individual self-consciousness has now become more the question of National self-consciousness. But beyond and above this national selfishness and self-consciousness there is the wider nationality to which it appeals. That is the great nationality of the future. The province of Madras must realise itself but it will realise itself in vain, unless it knows how to minister to the great life which is made up of the Indian nationality. The individuals who make up society must fulfil themselves. But they will fail to fulfil themselves, unless they contribute to the larger life of the family. Similarly in vain will the individual try to fulfil himself, unless he can work out this nationality in such a way that every provincial nationality will contribute to the larger life of India.

When I hear of a great movement, I do not stop to consider whether it is selfish or unselfish. I am content if I find it is a movement, and I know all movements help you to move together. My advice

to my Non-Brahmin friends of this province is not to give up their organisation but knit it closer; not to stifle the great movement but to turn its head in another direction. You will soon find that the time is coming when this bitterness between the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin will disappear. You will find that class interests raise their heads, simply to demolish those interests. Both the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin will contribute their legitimate share to the formation of this nationality. Every movement takes time to give its message. It is pausing just for the moment only to tell the inner meaning of what you started some years ago. In whatever way I can help you, you can count on my help. But I am one; you are many: and the burden is yours and not mine. I come to you as a representative of the call of India. I appeal to you to arise and awake to your responsibility and I want to see before I leave this province activity commenced. Let this great movement not die down in talk and babble. Seize the opportunity when it presents itself. The path is clear; commence your journey; cast all hesitation to the winds and you will see that victory is yours. (Cheers).

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AT MAYAVARAM

Congress and its Prestige

DESABANDHU Das and party leaving Shiyali yesterday afternoon passed through Mayavaram and Peralam enroute to Kumbakonam. At both the places large and enthusiastic crowds welcomed him. The addresses presented to Mr. Das at the former place were, from among others, the Municipality and the Taluq Congress Committee who appealed to him to help the Congress in regaining that prestige and authority which shall dictate terms to the Bureaucracy.

Das's Speech

Replying to the addresses jointly, Mr. Das said it was refreshing to find that the Congress Committee realised that the Congress was losing its prestige. In fact that was his reason for raising the standard of what had been called rebellion. He wanted nothing better than to preserve the prestige of the Congress and he appreciated and admired the inwardness of the draftsman's vision. The draftsman had associated two ideas together, viz : the prestige of the Congress and the success of their fight with the Bureaucracy, because their being in a position to dictate terms to the Bureaucracy carried with it the idea that they must succeed in that contest. If he could be convinced to-day that giving up the Councils was the way to succeed with the Bureaucracy, he would give it up

here and for good. How else could they fight the Bureaucracy? All parties were agreed that at the present moment civil disobedience was out of the question and there was a depression of their energy and of their activity. How were they going to rally the country round? What was going to be their battle-cry? He would repeat that paper resolutions were of no use whatever: and only accelerated the loss of prestige by the Congress. It was quite clear that they had not succeded in taking the people with them. He did not belittle the work so far done. In his opinion it was great; and the activity of the non-co-operation movement had carried the country forward at least twenty years. But the nature of that work must be appreciated. There were false admirers who did not admire the movement for what it was. It had done the work of a mightly flood. It had left the national life more productive. The flood had gone and it would be for them now to till their lands and carry on the work of cultivation. They should harness the splendid energy in which he and they had to carry the people into works of practical and direct utlity, works which did not demand higher sacrifices only but which engaged the attenation of every one of their countrymen. Sacrifices were for the great. The non-co-operation movement gave such men. But the teeming millions were incapable of that high sacrifice. He would ask them to enter into such contests with the bureaucracy where the people would follow them, and to gather such strength in this way that it would be possible for them

in a short time, it may be a few years. to apply non-co-operation. They attained strength not by inaction but by activity.

Capture the Strongholds.

He wanted them to capture all the strongholds of the Bureaucracy and the most important of those strongholds were the Municipal Halls and Council Chambers. They were the instruments and weapons with which the Bureaucracy worked. They had to capture the guns of the enemy. Just a dash, and they captured the guns. Let them capture the seats and make their demands, If the Bureaucracy said 'Yes', they had conquered. If they said 'No', by that time they would have raised such forces that their strength would have multiplied fifty times. Non-co-operation was a fight, it was not running away. They could not fight the Bureaucracy unless they forced its hands. Let them not imagine they could run away from the Bureaucracy. It had captured every inch of their national life. The result was that the nation was anxious to give it battle from every inch of their life. Napoleon said of the Duke of Wellington that he was on the field of Waterloo because he had chosen a battle-ground from which there. was no retreat. He would therefore ask them to realise that they had been driven to a corner, Either they they must commit political suicide and curse not only themselves but their children and children's children to slavery, or they must stand up to fight the Bureaucracy. That was why he invited them to stand up and fight. Let them fight by carrying on the constructive work of

the Congress; let them fight within the Councils, within Municipal, Local and District Board Chambers and within the provincial councils and the Assembly. It was only as a result of that all-round and all-embracing fight that the Bureaucracy would yield.

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AT PERALAM

AT Peralam which was reached at about 8 o'clock in the night, Mr. Das received an address from people of the locality, the Nagore Mahomedans and the Hindi Sabah. The people's address emphasised among other things the need for promoting unity in the rank and file of the Congress, which unity alone would speed up the day of Swaraj. The gathering was very large and consisted of hundreds of people from the surrounding villages.

The Present Situation.

Mr. Das, in replying began with a short story. There was a shikari, he said, who was very fond of a shot and in his view he was an exceedingly good shot. One day he attempted to shoot a bird but nobody saw the bird drop. Then he said to his friends that he had succeeded in touching the bird and that the bird would go home and die. That was an excellent solution of his difficulties, because in the first place it pleased his vanity and in the second nothing tragic happened because the bird as a matter of fact went home to roost and not to die (laughter). That was the exact picture of the present political situation in the country. They used the language of fire, but did nothing. They passed resolutions but they evoked nothing but laughter. In words they were for destroying the Bureaucracy. But words did not hurt, nor did they alter the course of the Bureaucracy. Things remained where they always remained

and the question was whether they were prepared to allow things to remain where they were. Were they willing to sing the praises of Swaraj and live the lives of slaves ? (No, no) If not, they must be prepared to give battl e to the Bureaucracy, not in word but in deed.

The fight was to possess the machinery of the Bureaucracy and displace it. Where was any immorality in it ? They would have wrested the weapon partially ; at any rate, it was their property ; and they were not going there like thieves at dead of night. They were going there with an open declaration that they meant to capture that machinery.

Difference from the Liberals.

The qustion was asked how the Swarajya Party differed from the Liberals. The Liberals, he said, wanted to get Swaraj through the Councils. But his party wanted to get Swaraj in spite of the Councils. The Liberals put forward what they considered to be a constitutional fight, but his party did not care whether it was constitutional or unconstitutional, so long as it was non-violent. Liberals wished to work the reforms, but his party wanted to use that weapon and direct it against the Bureaucracy to compel the Bureaucracy to recognise Swaraj as the right of the country. Liberals wanted to get Ministerial posts, while one of the constitutional principles of his party was that no member should accept any office. The position was quite clear. Then it was said that ths Swaraj party would do just as Liberals do. That was no argument ; it was abuse. He was so busy that he could not deal with

such abuses. Why should they not have some faith in people who at any rate had the pride of having worked for the country, and who had demonstrated that they meant business ? It was only after they had become demoralised and degenerated that such an argument might be put forward ; why should not they hold their souls in patience? Such suspicion, he would say, was unworthy.

Mr. Das, asked his hearers to co-operate with him in rescueing Non-Co-operation from degenerating into a dogma; and said that the time would soon reveal Non-Co-operation in all its glory. (Loud cheering.)

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Provincial Congress Committee's Rebellion Against All-India Congress Committee

DURING the past few days in Trichinopoly, thousands of Tamil leaflets had been circulated over the name of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, calling upon the people not to submit to the All-India Congress Committee's decision. Desabandhu Das, in the course of his public speech made pointed reference to the leaflet and discussed the constitutional question as to the attitude of the Provincial and District Committees to the All-India Committee.

"I have nothing to say," Mr. Das said "to any view which Mr. Rajagopalachariar might entertain for himself and if he disagrees with the All-India Congress Committee resolution, it is open to him to personally obstruct the election proceedings. That is a question which is between himself and his conscience and nobody else has got a right to interfere. But I venture to submit for your consideration it is not open to him to carry on this campaign as the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, against the All-India Congress Committee to which all Provincial Congress Committees are and must be subordinate. There are many Congress Cmmittees in Bengal, in the U. P. and the C. P. where people who share the views which I represent are in the majority. Is it open to those Committees to carry on election propaganda, to help

and support the election programme which I have advocated, as Congress Cmmittees? Many of such Committees have asked my advice; and my advice has been clear upon that point: that as Congress Committees, they cannot go against the Congress decision. It is the undoubted duty of those gentlemen who occupy posts of responsibility inCongress Committees, and who want to rebel against the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee to resign such posts. Why did I resign my post as President of the Congress? Because I cannot carry on this propaganda in that position and even if I do not take the name of the Congress, people might think that because I am President of the Congress I was doing so in the name of the Congress. All the Provincial Congress Committees are under the All-India Congress Committee. Whether the All-India Congress Committee has got the power or not, the Congress constitution leaves it to that Committee to decide. It has decided. Are the Provincial Congress Committees to hold up the standard of rebellion?

A Breach of Trust.

Let those gentlemen resign their posts and offer obstruction personally. Of such obstruction, I am not afraid. For the country will judge between these obstructionists and myself. But rebellion within the Congress, by Congress institutions, and in the name of the Congress is suicidal to the constitution of the Congress. And if it is done with Congress funds, it is nothing but a breach of trust.

"Just imagine what the result may be the Provincial

Congress Committee of Tamil Nadu decides to rebel against the All-India Congress Conmmittee : suppose District Committees rebel against it; and in the same way some Taluk Committees support the District Committee, others rebel against it. The result will be that the whole of the Congress Constitution will be ruined. The course I have adopted is different. I have got a right to say, "I will not follow the Gaya resolution," personally on my responsibility, There are Congress Committees who are willing to follow me and to act according to any advice I give them. I have always refused to incite them to rebellion against the All-India Congress Committee. My object is to convert the minority into a majority by carrying on on my own responsibility and by setting up candidates for the Councils on my own responsibility. Supposing I succeed in offering non-co-operation to the Government from within the Councils, would I not then be in a better position to come to the Congress and say : "You doubted me : I have succeeded now ; follow my advice ?" That course of conduct is in perfect keeping with the dignity of the Congress Constitution, whereas what is intended to be done by these circulars is the ruining of the Congress Constitution."

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IN CHETTINAD.

DESABANDHU Das with Mr. Phookan, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Satyamurti left Trichinopoly yesterday afternoon on tour to Chettinad by motor, via, Pudukottah where he received an address on behalf of the District Congress Committee and a purse to the Swarajya party fund. Passing through Kanadukathan, the party arrived at Pallathur at about eight o'clock and attended a public meeting.

Replying to the address of the local Congress Committee, Mr. Das said that he found the youngmen of the place were full of the right spirit and a desire to achieve Swaraj for their country. To the older men, he had a word to say. It might be that because of habits of thought formed for long years, they might not be able to adjust themselves and take their place in the struggle for Swaraj. He would aqpeal to them to join this struggle, for the situation in India to-day was so critical that India expected everyman to do his duty. But if they could not do it, he would appeal to them not to hinder the young men in their desire to serve their country. That was the least thing they could do; but if they repress this great longing in youngmen, they would be stifling the Divine in man.

REPLY TO THE A.B. PATRIKA

Mr. Das sent the following in reply to the leading article in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of the 5th June 1923 :—

Thanks for honouring me with an editorial in your issue of the 5th June. Regret my Madras speech grossly misrepresented in the article. Long passage put within inverted commas may be taken by careless readers as part of my speech ; whereas it is merely the inference of the writer. To me it appears as a perversion of my speech. In every speech I have been emphasising on Non-Co-operation as the only method for attaining Swaraj. It is ridiculous to say I have given up Non-Co-operation. Even masters of deductive logic must admit that there may be ideals regarding methods. Swaraj is an ideal goal and Non-Co-operation is the only method and an ideal regarding method. Mahatma held the same view. Nagpur resolution is clear that although Non-Co-operation is the ideal method, the country is not yet fit to apply it and therefore certain steps are advised to prepare the country to be able to apply Non-Co-operation. In my speeches, I have been proposing Council entry as one of such steps. The work I am doing in Madras is organising elections. Speeches are necessary to answer objections and to remove doubts. If I am fighting, it is to answer the obstructionists. Whether I should immediately work here or in Bengal is a matter about which you will allow me to judge for myself. My long career at the

Bar has trained me not to accept advice of opponents. If the Bombay decision has wounded the susceptibilities of a large number of Congressmen, it has satisfied the desire of a very much larger number of Congressmen. I differ from you as to what the feeling is in Bengal. I have not the least doubt that Bengal as a whole will accept the resolution. Your article does not refer to the Khulna decision. Congress politics will be alright even in Bengal. In spite of the correction by the Associated Press of a misrepresentation of my Buldana speech, your article repeats that I have adopted responsive Non-Co-operation. What is wanted, more than anything else, is that newspapers should not misrepresent and should follow a steady course. If your view is against that of the Swarajya Party, you should clearly say so, instead of trying to misrepresent its leaders, which may have the effect of deceiving the ignorant and the careless. Your Barisal correspondent did a lot in this line and your present article affords another illustration. In this article you have given me a lot of advice. Allow me to give you some advice. You should overcome your indecision and place before the country some kind of positive politics.

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AT MADURA.

BEFORE attendtng the public meeting, Mr. Das with Mr. Phookan paid a visit to the Union Club where the elite of the town met and honoured him. A large crowd waited outside the building and greeted Mr. Das with cries of " Mahatma Gandhiki-jai" and " Allaho-Akbar."

Public Meeting and Addresses.

Later in the night Mr. Das atttended a public meeting in the extensive open space which was once a tank called after one Krishna Rayar. The gathering was large, comparing very favourably with some of the best gatherings held in these parts, not excluding those brought together during Mahatmaji's visits. It was in fact a sea of human faces, as Mr. Das himself described in his speech. A noteworthy feature of the meeting was that ladies also were present, special accommodation having been provided for them.

Two addresses were presented one on behalf of the citizens of the place and the other on behalf of the Swarajya party. Mr. Das, in replying to them, spoke for nearly an hour and a half, his theme being the failure of the constructive programme of the Congress. Mr. Das's speech was as usual eloquent, when he referred to the great ideal they had set before themselves and the poor results they have achieved so far and it touched the hearts of the people very much, although the audience restrained their feelings and gave no

indication of the same by cheering, applause or even laughter. Shouts of 'Vandemataram' and 'Allaho Akbar' were raised on but two occasions, when Mr. Das rose to address and when he finished his speech. Mr. Das was given a very good hearing and unlike other places, there were no questions here, although Mr. Das extended an invitation for the same at one stage of the meeting.

Mr. Das's Address.

Mr. Das referred to the greatness of the city and said he had come there with high hopes of carrying conviction to them of the justice and reasonableness of his programme. Madura was a great weaving centre too, but what was it, they were weaving to-day? Were they weaving the threads which made life strong or were they weaving a net round themselves? The city was of all-round importance in the past and was it not due to the whole of India that it should also be a city of all round activity in the present and should represent the soul of the national life and contribute to the enrichment and embellishment of that national life? They might say they were doing that work, but what was the work they were doing for the last year. Let them remember it was not enough to honour such as they considered to be their leaders by garlands, by music and by carrying them in procession through crowded streets. That might be a sign of life; it might also be a desire for tamasha. He wanted to know and ascertain from them if there was anything substantial behind the show or if it was merely a desire for tamasha. Was there life in the movement or was

it a dead thing smeared with gold? A movement always moved: but what kind of movement was it which was going on here for the last one year? Was it the continuation of that which he saw and experienced before he went to prison, or was it like a backwash of a mighty sea? That was the question which was being asked all over India. He was not referring in any way at present to the differences of opinion which prevailed. But whatever might be the opinion of the Congress Committee here, he wanted to know the kind of work that it was doing. He was not there that night to discuss as to whether the constructive work by itself would give them Swaraj; nor was he there to discuss as to whether Council-entry and Civil Disobedience were alternative remedies or whether they could have both or whether they must discard Council-entry and go in straight for Civil Disobedience. He was not willing to be put off by discussions. He was an auditor and had come for an account. With regard to khaddar, all over India only half a percent. wear it (A voice—Does "Swadesamitran" office wear khaddar?) "Do not put impertinent questions" said Mr. Das, "Swadesamitran has nothing to do with what I say. You had better do your duty and you will get on much better,"

Khaddar Work

"I want to know how many people in Madura wear khaddar. Has khaddar increased or decreased? I ask you this question because whatever differences of opinion there may be on other questions, there is no difference of opinion that khaddar

is desirable. If you believe in khaddar and in the constructive programme, as being the only things that will lead us to Swaraj. I want to know how you have been acting up to that belief. My information is that the work of khaddar has not increased, that there is a factory of a hundred looms and that the Charka is not working in the same way as it was working before. If khaddar work has gone down, instead of increasing, you must allow me to criticise the ideal upon which you stand. I am not giving my opinion on the question whether constructive work alone will lead us to Swaraj ; but even constructive work not energetically pushed through, will certainly not take you to Swaraj. I want to see men stand like men, with their faces towards God and honestly working from morning till night, for the cause which they hold dear to their hearts. To such men who ever they may be, I shall bend down my knees. But if I find an increase in the cry of "constructive work", with corresponding decrease in the actual activity relating to it, I cannot admire those things.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Speaking about Hindu-Moslem unity, Madura might be fortunate enough to escape any disturbance, but they had not taken any active steps to avoid any possibilities of friction, have not discussed any plan or put forward any project before the authorities of the Congress. Was it always to remain a pious resolution on paper or was it going to be acted upon by those who put their implicit faith in constructive work ? He too believed in costructive

work and he had his project and plan ready to be applied. He may be able to help or not, but he felt sure that mere expressions of desire, mere resolutions, mere speeches from a thousand platforms, would not bring about that unity betwen the different communities, without which Swaraj must ever remain a dream and an idle dream.

The Untouchables

"What active steps have you taken with refernce to the depressed clases ?" No Swaraj is possible without the uplift of depressed classes. Here is this glorious temple : the depressed classes have no entrance. The whole of this Province may be described as a province of temples and untouchables. Is it not a scandal for those who want to win Swaraja? I cannot conceive of a greater tragedy than this—that human beings are not allowed to enter the temple of God. My head hangs down in shame when I think that such a thing is possible anywhere in India Hindu culture is always liberal ; some of the grandest ideas of freedom and liberty have come from our Shastras, What disease has come over us that we put up barriers between God's creatures ? What kind of unity, can you possibly imagine, between the Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and the depressed classes when they find that the depressed have no right to enter God's temple and worship God in His temple ? What is the work you have done to uplift the depressed classes ? Do you think mere advice will accomplish this ? It has got to be worked. We want those who will have the courage to hold up

the banner of Swaraj to face the problem courageously. We want to see on every platform, Congressmen, beyond making speeches, embracing those of the depressed classes. Remember constructive work is not easy; it requires time, patience and capacity to suffer beyond measure. So far as the Swaraj party is concerned, every help which is theirs to give, will be given.

Congress Membership

What is your position to-day with reference to Congress membership ? I am told last year this city had nearly four thousand members; and this year it is about two thousand. In this item of constructive work also, you have not progressed. I want yo to realise that the population of this city is nearly a lakh and fifty thousand. The Congress members are only two thousand. How can they claim a representative character? I cannot understandwhy you cannot make thousands and thousands of members in this city. This is an item of work on which there are no differences of opinion. It is also an item in the Swarajya Party programme. I give you a fair warning. If it is found out that at the end of the year you have not succeded in making thousands of Congress members, our claim to represent the whole of India would be proved to be unfounded. If two thousand can represent a population of 15000, the Bureaucracy may say it represents the whole of India. I want you to show to the world and to the Bureaucracy that you do not rely on the theory of trusteeship and that you have on your rolls the bulk of the population as members.

Council Entry

He wanted his hearers to realise that even their consructive work cannot be carried on so peacefully as they might imagine. But that was no reason, he said, to stop the constructive work. All that he desired to say was whether they did constructive work or constructive work plus something which he advised them to do, they must, if they wanted Swaraj, gird up their loins for a fight. All the departments of constructive work were also departments over which they would find the Bureaucracy disporting itself. Bit by bit they have got to displace it. Let them add another work (Council entry,) which was also constructive work. Let them try to imagine the condition of the country, the animation which would be the result when they went on with the constructive work, grappled with the opposition and the difficulties, and went to prison, if it was necessary ; and when they along with it captured every institution, in the country, Government or otherwise, and carried on this work. Let them imagine how the country would pulsate with life, when every bit of outside activity full and strong, will find its response within the Council halls, and when every bit of activity within those halls will be echoed and re-echoed through the constructive work outside. As the Bureaucracy spread itself over the whole of the national life, so they must displace it, at every point, where it had spread its shadow. Let them not believe that he wanted to get Swaraj within the Councils. He was not so foolish as not to know that. Swaraj to his mind

was incompatible with the spreading out of the Bureaucracy and they must give battle to it from every point.

Wanted Honest Men

I want to give up what has been proved to be an ineffective boycott, for a really effective boycott of the Councils. If you think that 40, 50 or 70 honest men cannot be found in every province, what is the good of talking of non-co-operation? Do you think constructive work can be carried on without honest men? I am putting you to the test; either you believe that or you must give up constructive work. I can understand the Moderate position; but I cannot understand that those who are prepared to do constructive work and even civil disobedience complain that honest men will not be found. If this is not merely an argument put forward, but a belief honestly entertained, then all that I can say is—shut up constructive work, shut up non-co-operation and put an end to the activity of the Congress and go back to the old days of resolutions. If you believe in constructive work and civil disobedience, if you believe that the country is fit for it, then all that I can say is—I will not allow you to say that you cannot send 50 or 100 honest men to the Council in every province. If your objection is that unworthy men are going into the Council, I shall charge you with co-operating with them, because you do not draw the votes away from these unworthy people. No; that is not so. I find there is a state of inactivity in the country. I find a desire to go on sleeping. No activity, no fight, no energy; but a conviction that we are

very good people, that we are logically right, metaphysically sound ; and when I want to wake you up, .you get terribly angry with me. If you have made up your mind to sleep, I have made up my mind to wake you up. Let us see who wins, your soporific virtue or my determination to wake you up. Old and tired though I am, I can assure you I will not rest, till I have proved to you that the only path for you to follow is to fight the Bureaucracy from all sides, and the only hope of Swarajya is the displacement of the bureaucracy. I assure you I shall prove to you that of all the tragedies that can overtake the life of a nation, nothing is so tragic as the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin. (Cries of "Vandemataram" and "Allaho-Akbar.")

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THE KARAIKUDI

EN route to Madura from Pallathur, Mr. Das and party halted for an hour at Karaikudi. A meeting was arranged in the local theatrical hall which was filled with Nattukottai Chetties and other residents of the place, eager to have a darshan of the leader and hear his message. An address was presented by the members of the Dhana Vysia Oolian Printing Press and in reply Mr. Das made a short speech in the course of which he asked what was the good of such demonstrations, if the people would not do any work. They were loud in their desire for unity; but would it satisfy tham if all India wouldbe united to remain slaves for ever? They all said that Mahatmaji's release was impossible before Swaraj was attained. Might he not put to them that Mahatmaj's release was impossible if they did not act? Did they mean to say all that they need do, was to desire for unity and Swaraj would drop from heaven and Mahatma would be released? Let them remember that heaven does not help those who do not help themselves. There was no Swaraj for the inert, and the nactive. There was no possibility of Swaraj for thosewho were absorbed in the discussion of mere metaphysical phrases. They gave him the impression that the whole of the Province had been converted into Asrams, where nothing but metaphysical discussions took place. If that was so, Swaraj would never conre. They had fallen into a ditch and were comfortable there and

were annoyed with people who tried to wake them up. If they wanted to sleep, they might do so; by God's grace they were sure to wake up before long.

Mr. Das and party passed through Tirupattur, Melur and other places on the way and were cheered by the people gathered there.

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AT TINNEVELLY

IT was reserved to this ancient town of Tinnevelley where the first seeds of nationalism were sown in this province, to give Desabandhu Das a princely reception. The joy and jubilation the people felt at the presence of the great leader in their midst knew no bounds and their demonstration was indeed magnificent. The arrival of Desabandhu Das by train gave them the opportunity to muster in their thousands in the station and the platform from one end to the other and the extensive compound outside it, was one mass of surging crowd.

On alighting from the train Mr. Das and Mr. Phookan were received by Mr. Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu, Mr. Tirukootasundaram Pillai and A. M. Ahmed Miran Saheb and garlanded amidst national cries. They were then conducted to the Station waiting room where they were honoured by Purnakumbham and other temple presents. Despite Mr. Das's dislike for processions and shows, a procession was in readiness outside the station, with elephant, music etc. and the people were so enthusiastic about it that they would not allow him to proceed to the meeting place without being led in the procession. The whole spectacle was imposing.

Addresses

The gathering that met in the large open ground in the New Street was a huge one, all the communities

being well-represented, and from all accounts the biggest that had assembled since Mahatmaji's visit. Mr. Das received four addresses, on behalf of the citizens, of the Taluq Board, the Union Board and the District Congress Committee.

Both the citizens' address and the Taluq Board address were read by Mr. Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu, while the Congress Committee address was presented by Mr. Tirukootasundaram Pillai, the Secretary.

Das's Reply to Critics

Mr. Das thanked the gathering for the addresses and after touching upon one or two points raised therein, proceeded to deal with the correspondence that passed between him and Mahatmaji in respect of the compromise. He said :— "I am afraid there is a tendency in certain quarters to introduce false issues into the discussion. The question which I have taken upon myself to answer before the country is whether entry into council to non-co-operate from within must be accepted as an item of non-co-operation. But what I find is that the isssue is clouded by false topics raised and allowed to be discussed. The other day at a meeting I was discussing the causes of the present depression. It was necessary to discuss them, because if anything is necessary to-day, it is to find out the means by which we can extricate ourselves from the present position. In discussing the causes, I had to trace the history of the struggles of non-co-operation. And in my opinion we had secured a great victory when thousands and thousands of people in different provinces offered to go to jail. In the address of the

Congress Committee you make a pregnant observation when you say, "The gate of the prison is the gate of Freedom". I want you to understand and realise the full import of that statement. To the unwilling, the gate to the jail is not the gate of freedom. It is only when you are burning with a sense of bondage and the yoke of a foreign bureaucracy, that the gate of the prison is the gate of freedom; and it is only when you are saturated with a feeling of servitude inside and outside and when the whole country appears to you as a vast prison that the gate to the prison is the gate to freedom. To the credit of non-co-operation, be it said, that it has produced this result and thousands and thousands of young men can be found in this country who would be willing to surrender everything and enter the gate of freedom.

Cause of the Depression.

That was the feeling in the country at the time, when the young men were going to jail and it had the desired effect on the Bureaucracy. Our duty at that time clearly was either to accept the terms which the Bureaucracy had put forward or to go on fighting. In that meeting I said that we did neither. We did not accept the settlement and we refused to fight. In my opinion—right or wrong, I have the right to express it—the result was that the splendid spirit which was raised in this country was crushed to death. That was one of the causes of this depression. There were many other causes also. But this was certainly one. You may accept it, or you may reject it; that is not my business. I am here to tell you the truth which I know and I should be

ashamed of myself if I did not put forward what I consider to be the truth in this matter. To my horror, I find that my friends who are the seceders from this majority party saw in that statement an attempt at insinuation against Mahatma Gandhi. When I read that, I said to myself how has this come about, that those who put forward their claims as the devoted disciples of Mahatma Gandhi should by such criticism show conclusively a spirit which is foreign to the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. Did that sublime soul ever at any time for a moment refuse or shrink from telling the people what he thought to be the truth? I tell you the object is to create prejudice. It is what is known as side-tracking. There is no question as to whether Mahatma Gandhi was right or was wrong. The question simply was : what was the cause of depression? I even went so far as not to introduce Mahatma Gandhi into it, treating his decision as the decision of the Indian National Congress. But then this is an attempt to say : We will not discuss the real issue but we will tell the public in this country that Das is going against Mahatma Gandhi. It is my firm conviction which no criticism will deter me, that if we had accepted the terms offered by the Government we would not have been in this position to-day. Remember we were promised Swaraj within that year, and remember also that I had never seen this Bureaucracy brought so low as it was on that occasion. You will understand this clearly, I am sure, when you read the terms : and I am glad that, in answer to me and by way of criticism; the telegrams have been published. I do not care for the

comments of my friends. The telegrams tell their own story and that story is my story.

The Terms and their Significance

An ingenious attempt has been made to treat my part in the undertaking as a part of another bigger negotiation which was going on between certain other gentlemen and Mahatma Gandhi. I had nothing to do with those telegrams or messages or conversations. I was only dealing in that speech of mine with what took place between the Government and myself and Mahatma Gandhi. It was not only myself but a great Muhammadan leader—Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad who was at that time in prison with me. The terms were brought to us in the Presidency jail on the 19th December 1921. They were, firstly that the Government communique or the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the magisterial orders should be withdrawn at once ; secondly that all political prisoners arrested since the first of Novtember should be released On these two things being done, a round-table. conference was to be called and on the Criminal Law Amendment Act under which we all went to jail, being withdrawn and the political prisoners arrested since the 1st November being released, the hartal was to be called off. When we got these terms, we thought that these were good terms because we could force the Government to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the people who were arrested by the Government, could not be kept by the Government in jail. And these two things would give such an uplift to the spirit of the people and would make them

taste such success that will really strengthen their desire for Swaraj. What would be the impression in the minds of the public? I ask you to consider that these people who were arrested by thousands, the Bureaucracy could not keep in jail and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was forged as a weapon against the people, they had to withdraw and the Round Table Conference which they had up to that time refused to call, we compelled them to call. Remember the speech of the Viceroy that if these terms were accepted, neither party should think it has conquered. Who are the two parties—the Congress and the Government. My critics and my opponents think I built high hopes on the Round Table Conference. I should have thought that the whole of my life was a contradiction of such a thought. But surely those who have some political insight can see that if in the matter of the Round Table Conference the Government had broken its pledge, why, we would have started the non-co-operation movement with redoubled vigour. I never rely on Round Table Conferences, or on Government's desire to do good to us. I want to compel them to recognise what our undoubted right is. I wanted to give the people of this country a taste of success.

A Piece of Maya

That is why, so far as I am concerned and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad is concerned, we accepted these terms. On that very day the 19th December, we sent this message to Mahatma Gandhi, signed by me and by Abdul Kalam Azad. "We

recommend calling off hartal on the following conditions. (1) Government calling a Conference which shall soon consider all questions raised by the Congress. (2) Withdrawal of recent Government communique and Police and magisterial orders. (3) Releasing all prisoners arrested under this new law, unconditionally. Reply immediately, care, Superintendent, Presidency Jail, Calcutta." With reference to this, my critics take my breath away when they say that no terms were offered to me. It is a piece of Maya, this telegram they say; it is a piece of Maya that the Government gave me a line clear that the message may be transmitted at once. (Laughter). It was Maya when the Superintendent of the Jail allowed a prisoner to send a telegram. And the Maya of all Mayas is that Mahatma Gandhi replied care of the Superintendent, Presidency Jail. I have seen many things in this controversy, but I have not come across anywhere a statement which is as unblushing as this. Surely party politics should not be so carried on that all regard for truth should vanish. This is the answer which I had received on that very day, the 19th December. "Your wire. Composition and date of Conference should be previously determined. Release should include prisoners convicted for Fatwas including Karachi ones. Subject to these conditions in addition to yours we can in my opinion waive hartal." Therefore those who now charge me with trying to sell the honour of the country should remember that the difference between myself and Mahatma Gandhi was very little in the matter of this compromise.

Composition of the Round Table

It is these two additional terms that constituted the difference. I tell you now why I was against those additional grounds. In the first place, the composition of the Round Table Conference in my opinion should have been dictated by us at all. In my opinion the right position to accept was simply this: Let those gentlemen who want to call for a round-table conference do so and if we are not satisfied with it, we will carry on Non-co-operation. I wanted to keep my hands free. I felt then, as I feel now, that in any Round Table Conference, this Bureacracy is not likely to give you what you want. But you must consider, if after these solemn promises the Bureaucracy acted unfairly in the matter of the Round Table Conference what would have been the feelings of the people and how much more vigorously we would have carried on this very Non-co-operation. It is on that ground that both of us, Moulana Kalam Azad and myself, acted.

The Fatwa Prisoners

I turn to the second ground—the release of Fatwa prisoners, principally, Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali. My feeling is that the Criminal Law Amendment Act being withdrawn, they were bound to release all the prisoners arrested under that Act and the release of the other priseners would come as a matter of course on the decision of the Round Table Conference, because that is not a matter of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, but of Swaraj. I was therefore of opinion that these two additional terms should not be pressed. But because of the admiration and esteem in which I

held Mahatma Gandhi, I put forward before the Government the names of the gentlemen who should constitute the Round Table. Conference and the names included the Ali Brothers. The Government accepted those names. With regard to the release of Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali, I put before the Government that if they were even not willing to release them, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad and myself should be detained in prison till they were released. That is a matter on record now.

Not Destroying but Vindicating the Nation's Honour

Then, upon this, one of my present critics sent a telegram to Mahatma on the 20th December 1921. I mean, Sjt, Shyam Sundar Chakravarty who is now charging me with an attempt to destroy the honour of this country. The telegram runs thus : "Bengal opinion favours opportunity for negotiation which proposed conference will afford. Giving assurance of real truce on the part of the people, thought reasonable. Releases suggested by you may be accepted, before conference actually meets. Wire advice immediately." A change has come over the spirit of his dreams (Laughter). But it is permissible of any opponent of mine to change his opinion. Because I have not done so, surely, it is an offence (Laughter). I will not trouble you with the other telegrams to which I was not a party. I challenge any man to say that I was trying to bring down the honour of the people to the dust. In my opinion I was holding up the honour of the people and I was vindicat-

ing to the world that Non-co-operation had triumphed. I was trying to prove to the world that, "Here is a Bureaucracy which passes a law two months before, and it has been compelled. to withdraw it". I was trying to demonstrate that these non-co-operating heroes were sent to prison by the Government but had not the power to keep them in prison. And I was trying to prepare the country for a bigger fight when the Round Table Conference was finished. I was trying to prove to the weary public of India, that although in one year Swaraj had not been obtained, some success at any rate had been obtained. But then my position was this; either accept the settlement and start again on its basis for the higher things or if you refuse to accept the settlement fight on with the Government. Neither the one thing nor the other was done, and eventually in February after the Chauri Chaura incident, Mahatma Gandhi laid down his arms. He may have been right or he may have been wrong from his standpoint. The question is not whether he was right or whether he was wrong. The question is how has the country fared since then. Where is the evidence of that life which I saw surging all round me when I went to prison? Where is the activity which compelled the Bureaucracy to sink so low? Can you think of another such incident in the history of the Bureaucracy in this country within the last 150 years? These terms were the proofs of the success of the Non-co-operation movement. When these were offered we did not take them. Was I right or was I wrong? You may agree with me or you may

differ from me, but one thing I want to know. Is there anything in my argument which can be said to be an insinuation against Mahatma Gandhi? I have never insinuated anything at any time, and let me tell my critics that my regard and admiration for Mahatma Gandhi is a great deal deeper than theirs.

Exploiting the Mahatma's Name

But with all my admiration for his greatness I reserve to myself the freedom of my opinion. I think it would be a bad day for this country when to say that you differ from any particular opinion of his is to insult the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. It is an attitude of mind which I feel sure Mahatma Gandhi would have censured. All that I want to ask you is this. Why do you not fight me on the topics? Why are you constantly engaged in demonstrating to the people that I have differed from Mahatma Gandhi? Is it to take advantage of the popularity of Mahatma Gandhi? A man who has the courage of his convictions does not conduct himself in that way. I regret that such courage is wanting in my opponents. I could have understood the argumeut that what I stated was not the cause of our depression. They are entitled to place before you what they know to be the causes of the depression. I am entitled to place before you what I know to be the causes. What has the conduct of Mahatma Gandhi to do with the issue? Why is this false issue raised? To my mind the moment you raise a false issue you stand convicted. Whenever the Bureaucracy raises the issue of law and order, I know, that the Bureaucracy knows that it is wrong

(Laughter) And the spirit of the Bureaucracy is not confined to any particular locality or particular institution.

How to Get Out of the Depression.

The question of all questions at the present moment is how to get out of this depression. That a depressiod is there is admitted. There is not a single member of the Congress, whether he belongs to the minority party or majority party or even to the party of the seceders from the majority who does not admit it. How to get out of this position? Do you honestly believe that a repetition of the same formula, and the same resolutions will get you out of this position? I want you to think about it. If you really believe in your heart of hearts that the only thing necessary for the country at the present moment is to repeat like *mantras* the resolutions that have been already passed, God forbid, that I shall ask you to forsake them. I am not so conceited as to think that my programme is the only solution. But I see nothing beyond my programme at the present moment. And my conscience tells me it would be a sin, unless I go on trying to rouse people from the very abyss into which they have fallen. I want you to realise that while you are fighting about constitutional principles and what not, the whole of this glorious episode is going to be closed. I want you to realise to-night that while you are fighting about empty formulas, rules, precedence, this glorious Congress may come to an end. For God's sake, put some new life into this institution. Do not utter the *mantras* which are

divorced from life. Even *mantras* must be living. If I find that people are never tired of uttering *mantras* and these very people are lazy, inactive and lying down, I must say these *mantras* are not efficacious.

It is not this programme or that; it is the adoption of some programme which you must do. If you pursue the programme of your choice I shall be extremely grateful to you. What I insist upon is that something should be done. Let us get beyond words into the field of action. I have offered you a programme of an all-round fight—a fight in which all may join, those who are capable of small sacrifices and those who are capable of great sacrifices. Mine is a programme which makes for the strength of the nation, which kindless the spirit of resistence—a spirit upon which and upon which alone Non-Co-operation can flourish. The realisation of Non-Co-operation is not for the coward. The life of the nation, must be strong. Whatever you want, you must want in the spirit of the Kshatriya. And when you want to reject, you must reject in the spirit of the Brahmana. What I want is life—life, breathing and pulsating with energy. If you tell me that the duty of the Congress is merely to ask the people to tell the truth I differ from you. An enumeration of all the moral virtues in the world is the easiest thing in reason. What is necessary is to feel the pulse of the people and to adapt your resolutions to the capacity of the people. It is that spirit, it is that wisdom which I find absent to-day.

"BUNGLED AND MISMANAGED"

More about the "Terms."

APROPOS the correspondence published in the "Servant" and Mr. Shyam Sunder Chakravarthy's attack, Mr. Das, interviewed, expressed himself thus. "I have just read it in the "Hindu" received to-day. All that I can say is that I am surprised at it. I am glad that the telegrams have been published, and I think any impartial reader of the telegrams will see that I was justified in saying what I did. Why my speech was taken to be an insinuation on Mahatma Gandhi I have failed to discover, I notice an attempt to give that direction to every argument advanced by the Swarajya party. I suppose my critics believe that if they can establish that I have been insinuating things against Mahatmaji, they would secure a victory, but I have insinuated nothing. I was dealing with the causes of the present depression. It is my firm conviction that political enthusiasm in the country was strangled to death and in dealing with the reasons I had to deal with what took place in connection with the settlement."

"It is said that no terms were sent to me. I assert they were. I further assert that the Government arranged to give me a line clear. The Superintendent of the Jail allowed me to send the telegram, because he terms were sent to me and I wired to Mahatmaji

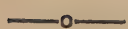
to reply to my telegram care of the Superintendent Presidency Jail. If after this anybody insists on saying that the terms were not sent to me, the country will have to choose between my statements and theirs."

"I see further an ingenious attempt to confuse the issues. Pandit Malaviya's negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi have absolutely nothing to do with the offer which was made to me and which I communicated to Mahatmaji. What Pandit Malaviya's object was, I don't know. But I am not prepared to ascribe any unworthy motives to him. Be that as it may, that would be a matter detween Pandit Malaviya and his critics. That is no reason why the issue between myself and my critics should be confused by introducing things about which I had no clear knowledge and about which therefore I cannot accept any responsibility."

"I don't think that the bulk of my countrymen will ever believe that I was most anxious to lift the hartal, that I built high hopes on the Round Table Conference. On the contrary my view was that the offer amounted to a surrender on the part of the Government and that the Indian National Congress should have accepted it as something done within the Swaraj year. If we had accepted it, we could have at least told the people that we had succeeded in compelling the Government to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Act and to release prisoners arrested since the first of November and, if the Government had dealt unfairly with us, I thought that we could carry on the work of non-co-operation with redoubled vigour.

In fact, both Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad and myself were agreed that the result of the Round Table Conference would not be satisfactory to us. It was in this view that I thought Mahatmaji's insistence on the composition of the Round Table in advance was unnecessary and unwise."

"If we had agreed to the composition, we would have in a manner, been obliged to accept the decision. My point has ever been to be engaged in a constant fight with the Bureaucracy and I believed, as I still believe, that it is only in showing to the people that the agitation succeeds as it goes on, that we will get the whole of the people with us. I feel that, if the settlement had been accepted, the people would have felt that they had triumphed over the Bureaucracy and that feeling would have helped us in the onward progress of Non-co-operation. But we neither accepted the settlement nor continued the fight and the result is all-round depression.



AT VIRUDUPATTI

Madras and Temples

DESABANDHU Das with Messrs. Phokan, Rangaswami Aiyangar and Satyamurti paid a visit to Virudupatti, an important Nadar centre, where he was welcomed warmly by the residents. A large meeting was held in front of the Kshatriya Vidyasala at which addresses were presented to Mr. Das on behalf of the Congress Committee and the Nadar Youngmen's Association.

Mr. Das in replying said that he disliked processions, flowers, shows and shouts. It was an unnecessary expenditure of their energy, time and money and it gave an indication of what their political activity was or might be. He should have been gratified indeed if instead of trying to get up processions, they placed before him an account of the work that the Congress had done during the last year. What he had seen was perfectly consistent with no work having been done. The address from the Nadar Association was very touching indeed, He entirely agreed with what was said by Mahatma Gandhi, namely, that if the Congress Associations and other public bodies in this place could not get rid of the sufferings of this community, it was much better that those bodies were abolished. It was much better that these representative associations should be wiped out of the country, if they could not do what representative institutions were bound to do. They might succeed or they might fail; but it is the bounden duty of every

representative institution to do its utmost in this behalf. He impressed upon the Congress Committees in the district the message given by Mahatma Gandhi. It was necessary to honour Mahatma Gandhi not only by shouting his name but by carrying out his message; and he would assure them that the Swaraj party within the Congrss would do its utmost in furthering their cause. While he felt that the Congress Associations and the Swarajya party within the Congress should do their utmost in that direction, he would at the same time point out that nobody could help them unless the community took it upon themselves to improve their condition.

Speaking next upon the question of temple entry, which is the question that has been agitating the minds of the Nadar community very much, Mr. Das said; "It is to me nothing short of an outrage that people should not be allowed to enter God's temple. All that I can say is: start a movement yourself and if any help is necessary, I am prepared to place myself at your disposal. I am told that some of your ancestors endowed some of the temples which refuse admittance to you. I should not place my cause on grounds of that description, I should demand entrance into the temple of God in my right as a human being. All that is necessary is for you to combine and declare your intention. If you combine with a determined purpose and resolve to carry out your intention, I have no doubt there are no persons in Madras who can prevent entry into the temples of God." (Cries of Vandemataram.)

AT TENKASI

Freedom's Battle

Tenkasi was one of the places which Desabandhu visited and where he found the people had accepted his programme. The addresses of welcome presented to him referred to his Tyaga. In his reply, he says his predominant motive in politics in Raga and he expatiates on the rapture of sacrifice and suffering in a way which lifts you out of yourself.

He explains, concisely and clearly the intellectual and moral basis of non-violent non-co-operation, and points that, behind all national movement, there must be the stress the real sanction, viz., the will of the people, if they are to succeed. He deplores the present state of inactivity in the country, but expresses the confident hope that, if only we take to life-giving activities, the people will be with us very soon.

He then explains the great need for Hindu-Muslim unity for the nation's progress and expatiates on the means by which it can be secured and promoted. He says that it is only common endeavour and common activity which will bind the two communities together, as also other communities, and not mere paper resolutions.

He asks the people to distinguish between the object of our national struggle, viz., Swaraj and the objective, viz., the Bureaucracy, and warns them that Bureaucracies all over the world will try to perpetuate their rule by practising the maxim " Divide et impera." in order to meet that, he suggests the constructive work and the capture of the Municipalities, the Local Boards the Councils, and the Assembly.

He exposes the hollowness of the extraordinary please that, because the Viceroy certified the Finance Bill doubling the Salt Tax, in spite of the adverse vote

of the Assembly, the boycott of the Election by the Congress was justified. He asks, convincingly, after pointing out that the nationalists who had the people behind them were not in the Assembly, "Why should the Bureaucracy listen to those puppets of accident ?"

He goes on to elaborate the programme of his party as regards the Councils and conclusively shows that that is the only way in which the Bureaucracy can be bent to the will of the people. For, in his own words, "If the bureaucracy venture to disobey the declared intention of the people over and over again they must take the consequence of a campaign of civil disobedience, the like of which the world has never seen."

He concludes this thoughtful and soul-stirring speech into a passionate plea for unity in the Congress ranks.

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IN front of the temple at Tenkasi, a large crowd mustered to do honour to Desabandhu Das and to hear his message. Addresses of welcome were presented on behalf of the Union Board and the Taluq Congress Committee by Messrs. Ahmed Miran Sahib M.L.C. and Sitarama Iyer respectively.

Replying to the addresses, Mr. Das made an interesting and instructive speech which was heard with the closest attention by the audience. He said.

Raga, not Thyaga

Friends,—It seems too formal to give you thanks for the addresses you have presented to me to-night ; yet it is no mere formality in which I am indulging, when I say I give you thanks from the bottom of my heart. You have referred in these addresses to my sacrifices and to my 'thyaga.' I assure you that it is not in the path of 'thyaga' that I have

travelled here; It is in the path of 'raga.' Patriotism and love of country have always been with me a passion, and if I have given up my practice, it is because I felt the raptures of this romance. I can assure you that I I feel I gave up nothing; and I can also assure you that feel I have something without which life would have been very dull indeed. Real suffering is always rapturous. Therefore, do not be earried away by appearances and think that I have given up something. I have simply taken up the life which I loved; and the raptures of that love are all mine. I also find a wonderful correspondence between the two addresses which have been presented to me. Though they have emanated from different bodies, yet they must be considered to have emanated from the same body, viz. the people of this place. The members of the Union Board do not know their duty, unless they realise that they are there to represent the people of this place. Though the hand is the hand of the Board, the voice is the voice of the people. Similarly the address presented by the Congress Committee must be accepted as the address of the people. I do not know how many members are at present on the rolls of this Committee. But what ever may be their numbers, these gentlemen who are members of this Committee, do not understand their duty; and do not realise their position, unless they look upon themselves as the people of this place. I feel that both the members of the Board and the members of the Congress Committee understand their position. That is why I find a complete correspondence of thought in the two addresses.

Doubts have crept into the political horizon ; and both the addresses do me the justice that I feel that some way must be accepted which could take us out of these doubts and difficulties. The Board prays God for the success of my efforts for the country's cause, and the Congress Committee says that doubt and despondency must be got over by my strenuous efforts for unity. I am thankful therefore, to the Board as well as to the Congress Committee for appreciating the little that I have succeeded in doing.

The Sanction Behind

I want very little indeed to satisfy me ; and when I find I am not at any rate misunderstood, it gives me great pleasure. I will with your leave refer to one or two things upon which my programme is based. I shall, when I have placed those fundamental considerations, ask you to ponder over them, to think of the great problems and to find out for yourselves the way of deliverance. The real point in all political struggles is the strength of the people. You must have what is called the sanction behind. When the country is engaged in a violent war, the sanction which you have is the army on the field, the reserves behind, and the resources of the nation, It is that which justifies the war, if violence can ever be justified. I shall ask you to consider what are the corresponding things which may be regarded as your sanction in carrying on this non-violent war against the Bureaucracy. You cannot rely on guns, bayonets and swords ; you must have an army on the field and reserves and resources behind. What is the army you must have ? The people of every country are divided into two classes,

those who actively carry out the work of the country and those who remain behind as silent supporters. Those who actively work for the cause of the Congress may be regarded as the army. You must therefore have to begin with one compact army. An army, as you know, is composed of different wings and different lines ; and yet this army must move together. There is a general purpose of war which must be carried out by every wing and line of the army. And then the reserves—the silent spectators and sympathisers, who remain behind, must be ready to jump into the field of action when they are wanted. To form an army of this character, what is wanted is unity of purpose. Unity of action is also necessary. There must be correspondence in action between the two wings. There must be signalling and transfer of messages, so that the different wings may move together to the same goal.

Our Present Position.

At present what is the position of this country ? Is there unity between different workers ? I leave out the present constitutional squabbles. Is there unity amongst the different communities, Hindus and Mahomedans, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and between the different sections of non-Brahmins ? Therefore, when we indulge in metaphors of warfare, let us not forget the fundamental position we must secure, before we talk of armies and battles. But a battle for national freedom is different from a real battle on the field. In ordinary warfare you must be ready with your army before you begin the fight ; but in the battle of

freedom you must prepare the army as you go on ighting. If to-day all the sections do not join you, you must be content to hope and to rely on the hope, that to-morrow all those sections will join you. But one thing you must be careful about. You must choose such activity which contains within itself the power to bring the different sections together.

Way to Hindu-Muslim Unity.

One gentleman for whom I have the highest respect has said that Hindu-Muslem unity can never be promoted by Council propaganda. In that cold, narrow manner it may be said that there is no propaganda which will bind the Hindus and Moslems together. It is not the programme but the spirit behind the programme which brings about unity. My advice to you is that the only way by which Hindu-Muslim unity can be secured is not merely by speeches from a thousand platforms in the country, but adopting by such action in which both Hindus and Mahomedans may combine and by seeing that they do combine. Those Hindus and Mahamadans who have been working together during the last two years certainly developed between themselves a real bond of unity. I am not saying that every body did. It is impossible to find in a gathering of many, every individual is perfectly honest and perfectly straightforward. But be it said to the eternal credit of the non-co-operation movement, that it has certainly brought more Hindus and Mahamadans together than any other movement before. There again, it is not the programme or the fideal, so much as the fact of working shoulder to

shoulder. An ideal merely draws, but it is common action, that cements the friendship. What is true of Hindu-Muslim unity is true of every other community. The Brahmins may cry themselves hoarse for unity between the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin, but the non-Brahmins will not trust them. The advanced non-Brahmins may make thousands and thousands of speeches but the Panchamas will not trust them. But directly you bind the different sections of the community into one army and have a common goal, a common objective and a common fight, all those selfish interests which divide community from community will disappear. I therefore ask you to determine the objective first.

Fight with the Bureaucracy

The attainment of Swaraj is undoubtedly the object; but I want you to determine the objective. As long as you content yourselves by saying we must have Swaraj, every section thinks it is the bounden duty of every other section to attain it. From that feeling comes hopelessness, comes inaction, and springs up the doctrine of trust and fraud which always follows such trust. I want you, therefore to determine the objective. That objective is the Bureancracy. I want you to realise once for all—this issue of the fundamental principles upon which my programme rests—that unless and until you can displace the bureaucracy, Swaraj must always remain an idle dream. And the nature of Bureaucracies all over the world is that directly you fight them from one corner, they take refuge in another and from there they try to crush you.

What must be clearly brought home is that the existence of yourselves or the selfish interests of any community are not safe as long as the Bureaucracy endures. To-day the Brahmin might be the darling of the Bureaucracy ; to-morrow the higher non-Brahmin ; and day after to-morrow it is the panchamas, with the necessary fluctuation of favouritism of Mohammedans and Hindus, whenever occasion requires. I want you to start with realisation; and I want you to have an army of Muhammadans and Hindus, and every section of the community. Remember if you have got to fight the Bureaucracy all along the line, you cannot do so, unless you take all these people together. Every bit of constructive work is a fight with the Bureaucracy, let me assure you. But by doing that, you do not cover the whole sphere of bureaucratic influence and activity. You do that ; and along with it, capture the Municipalities, the Local Boards, the Councils and the Assembly. The constructive work, and the capture of these weapons of the Bureaucracy, are the items of my programme. There you get a common purpose and a common plan of action.

The Country's Sanction

Now what is the sanction behind it is the next question that I shall take up. It is often said that in the Assembly the salt tax was voted against by the members, and yet the Bureaucracy forced it on the people. It is a plausible argument ; an argument of attractive subtlety but not reality. Because it overlooks the question of sanction. Why should the Bureaucracy listen to those representatives without the sanction of

the people ? It is often said and said by us that those representatives found their way into the Councils and the Assembly, only because the nationalists would not stand. It is the nationalists who have got the country behind them. If you keep out nationalists from the Councils and the Assembly, how can you get the sanction of the counttry behind them ? And why should the Bureaucracy listen to these puppets of accident ? I will try to show to you what sanction really means. Supposing you allow nationalists to stand—people who are actuated not by the desire of securing positions, but who will march into the Councils and the Assembly to fight the fight of nationalism. Let them once go in with the suffrages of the people and with the consent of the Indian National Congress. Let Indians when they go there, present their demand for Swaraj in a form in which it is possible for an alien power to recognise. I can assure you the Bureaucracy will find it very difficult to say 'no.' But it they do, because Bureaucracies like prejudices die hard, all the nationalists who are sent there by the people and by the Indian National Congress, will resign their positions straightaway, with a cry on their lips, that, the people and the people's Congress stand insulted. They come away and approach the people again. There are sixty lakhs of electors and lakhs and lakhs of people who stand behind the electors. What do you think the electors will do ? The electors will send them back to the very Councils from which they resigned their positions. The whole country will ring with denunciation. Do you think after that it is possible for the Bureaucracy to

flout their demand again? If they do this, representatives will resign again, and approach the electors again, and go into Councils again with redoubled strength and redoubled energy. Do you think that the country will then present the spectacle which it presents now? The whole atmosphere will be charged with electricity and the mad action of the Bureaucracy, if they still refuse, must necessarily lead to what is the only real sanction and that is Civil Disobedience. By that time you will have prepared the country in the real sense. You will not have to hunt for volunteers who will offer themselves to prison: and the insulted electors are the people who pay their taxes.

Civil Disobedience

If the Bureaucracy ventures to disobey the declared intentions of the people of this country over and over again, they must take the consequences of a campaign of Civil Disobedience, the like of which the world has never seen. In the course of the struggle you will find every bit off constructive work flourishing, because you will then have the magic touch of life. You will then have that which is necessary for any activity, not despair, but hope. You will not have to make frantic efforts and frantic speeches for the spread of khaddar. People will take to khaddar, because they will feel naturally insulted by the touch of Manchester cloth. It is no good saying they ought to do it now. They will not do it; they do not do it now, because that spirit is wanting. Have you forgotten how khaddar flourished when we went to jail?

What is the difference between that time and now ? You then had the magic touch of life; and now all your doctrines are dead things smeared with gold. It is only then that bands and bands of students will desert their schools and colleges and flock round the banner of Swaraj. It is only then you will find the law courts deserted. Then if necessary, desert tbe Councils for good: and then you will find not a single seat taken up by anybody.

Three Wings of the Army

There are three wings of the army that I see just now; the wing of constructive work, the wing of boycott and the wing which is busy capturing the guns of the enemy. These three wings must act in unison under one flag and under one banner with the blessings of the Indian National Congress. It is that which I should like to impress you to-night. You must see to it that in the next Congress, the present futile policy is given up and steps are taken for the formation of this grand army and the liberation of this glorious nation. Then and then only will success crown our efforts. (Loud cheers.)

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AT MADURA

Sjt. C. R. Das Interviewed

Sjt. C. R. Das was interviewed on his way from Ramnad to Coimbatore.

Will you kindly give me your opinion regarding the resolution of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee empowering the Working Committee to do Council Boycott propaganda vigorously ?

Mr. Das replied as follows :—"In my opinion the resolution of Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee is absolutely unconstitutional and the result is that the whole of the Congress constitution is in jeopardy. If the Provincial Congress Committee can arrogate to themselves the right of violating the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, the District Congress Committee may in the excercise of the same right refuse to obey the resolution of the Provincial Congress Committee. Similarly, the Taluk Congress Committees may disregard or disobey the resolutions of the District Congress Committees. All this means the breakdown of the Congress Constituton."

Q :—But they say they must obey the Congress resolution ?

A :—"It is no use saying that the Provincial Congress Committee resolved to disobey the All-India Congress Committee because they must obey the Congress resolution. The fallacy of such a position is clear. The All-India Congress Committee has by rule 21 of the constitution the power to "deal with" a new situation and therefore a right to judge whether there

is a new situation in the country. The All-India Congress Committee has decided it and has "dealt with" this new situation. A wrong decision, assuming the decision is wrong, is not the same thing as want of power. If the right to decide exists, no decision in the exercise of that right, be it right or be it wrong, can be 'ultra vires'. Therefore the resolution of the Congress must be taken as affected by resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, Constitutionaly therefore, any vioalation of the All-India Congress Committee decision is violation of the Congress decision. I notice that there were only about 77 members of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee, present at the meeting out of a total, strength of about 400 members. I saw in the papers complaints that the date of the meeting was not suitable. I find it difficult to believe that the majority of the Provincial Committee endorse the suicidal policy laid down in the resolution. I appeal to the members of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee to avoid this constitutional breakdown and save the honour and prestige of the Congress,"

Q :—Has the Provincial Congress Committee the right to spend from the Tilak Swarajya Fund to carry out this obstruction ?

A :—"In my opinion, no. It is a disobedience of the Congress Constitution and money spent out of the Congress Funds in support of this revolt must be taken to be misappropriated. If I use Congress Funds to carry out Council-entry propaganda my offence would be the same.'

AT TUTICORIN

Desabandhu Das is not only a great speaker, but a keen debater. He is seen at his best in the following speech which is really in the form of answers to questions. One of the unfortunate results of the recent political activity in this country has been the creation of a class of people who think good manners and strong political opinions cannot go together. So the questions at this meeting were put to the Desabandhu in an insulting manner. A lesser man might have lost his temper. But Das rose equal to the occasion, and answered the questions in a way which must have carried conviction to all except those who "have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear."

Questions Answered

Mr. Das attended a public meeting held in the central place in the locality at which he received addresses presented by Mr. V. O. Chidambaram Pillai on behalf of the citizens, by Mr. Masilamoni Pillai on behalf of the Gandhi Service League. A departure was made in the procedure usually adopted at such meetings, in that Mr. Das after thanking formally for the addresses invited questions or speeches from people of opposite camp.

"I have been trying to place before you," Mr. Das said, "from several platforms the Swarajya party's programme ; and now that the political horizon is full of clouds, it would be your duty to solve those problems for yourselves. Such assistance as I am in a position to offer you, in that direction, I am here to offer. Such doubts that you may have on the different questions which are agitating the country at the present

moment, I am here to assist you to solve. All that I ask you to do is to try and think about those very questions in an impartial and unprejudiced manner. There are two ways of thinking about the problems. One way is to start with preconceived ideas, and try to find fault with any programme which may be presented to you. Another way is to start with the knowledge of the present condition of the country, the depression that one sees all over india, and ask yourselves the question how best you can lift the people out of the depression. I need hardly tell you the latter course is the better course. You have had my programme placed before you from several platforms, and I have no doubt you read about it in the newspapers. I shall therefore at this meeting, without repeating what I have said elsewhere, ask you to put questions to me and I shall try to answer them. Or without putting questions if any of you is desirous of addressing the meeting against the views advocated by me, I should be sincerely glad to hear them.

This was the signal for a number of questions being written out and sent to Mr. Das. Some were in English and some in Tamil. While these were being looked into by Mr. Das, Mr. Masilamani Pillai, the President of the local Congress Committee, stepped on the platform and addressed the gathering on the futility of entry into Councils and on the need for unity between the Rajagopalachari party and the Das party.

Mahatma Gandhi

Mr. Das answered the questions. The questions,

he said, were put in an insulting form. But he was not surprised, because that was the form which the present politics of a certain order usually assumed. And no doubt it showed the inner meaning of the spiritual movement, which was always opposed to our work-a-day programme! He would answer the last question as it was the least insulting. "How are you above the Congress and Mr. Gandhi? You have also failed to give a definite lead to the country in the matter of Council entry and the future programme of the Swarajya party, beyond the immediate request for funds and votes of the people." The questioner's ignorance was appalling. When did the speaker ever say that he was superior to Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress? That was a kind of argument which convinced him that a change of programme was necessary. Who really brought this question of superiority or inferiority of Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress in the politics of to-day? It was certainly not he, but those who were in favour of no changes. It was no question of superiority or inferiority at all. There had been greater men than Mahatma Gandhi spiritually. In Madras there were Sankaracharya and Ramanuja and in Bengal, Chaitanya. If he had got a right to differ from these saints, was he to be told that he was ascribing to himself a superiority of position, because in some matters he differed from Mahatma Gandhi? He asked the questioner to realise what Mahatma Gandhi would have thought of his question. He who thought that he must obey or agree with another human being, however great, could have no respect or admiration for that great man. That

man had a poor opinion of Mahatma Gandhi who did not appreciate and respect the freedom of the human soul. Mr. Das assured his questioner that Mahatmaji would have been the first to condemn such an assumption as the one contained in the question.

The Congress

The second question was how he could place himself above the Congress. He had never placed himself above the Congress. He had only exercised the liberty of differing from one of the resolutions of the Congress. He had as much right to stick to his view, as the majority had a right to stick to their views. The views expressed by the Congress of any particular year were the views expressed by a section of individuals; and differences of views did not imply disrespect for the Congress: it was the undoubted right of the majority to differ; and he quoted from "Young India" Mahatmaji's considered opinion in this particular. He believed his love for the Congress was not less than that of anybody present at the meeting. When he found the Congress going in a wrong way, it was his bounden duty to make every effort to bring it round. He had resigned his position as President of the Congress in deference to the views of the majority, because it would have been dishonourable on his part to continue the fight and yet cling to the post of the presidentship; and because also it might lead to an erroneous belief that what he was putting forward was being put forward in the name of the Congress. He had frankly accepted the position of a minority: he had not ceased to be a member of the Congress; and he would not go

away from the Congress even if the majority would wish to drive him away (a voice—never.) He was within the Congress to-day in a minority, but God willing to-morrow he would be in the majority.

A Definite Lead

The statement that he failed to give a definite lead to the country was a bewildering one. He had given a definite lead in the matter of Council entry and he would ask the questioner and others who thought with him to do him the honour of reading his programme. He did not remember having made any immediate request for funds or votes; but if he had he did it in the exercise of his undoubted right to do so; and because he had given the country a definite lead which required funds to be carried out.

The Round Table.

Mr. Das next took up the first two questions. He would not reply to the insults contained therein he said. The questioner asked, 'How did you agree to the Round Table Conference without the release of the Fatwa prisoners in view of the Hindu-Moslem Unity and if as you say the Round Table Conference had been convened and the people at the headquarters had not bungled everything would have followed as a matter of course, which clearly indicates your belief in the promise and the goodwill of the Government. Why then can't you pacify your soul in patience and wait for the grant of Swaraj through the English Parliament at the Bureaucracy's own convenience?" He would tell the questioner that what he agreed to was subject to the acceptance of

the Congress. He agreed to the Conference without the release of the Fatwa prisoners because of the fact that the particular issues which were raised and had nothing to do with the Fatwa prisoners and that along with such agreement he told the Government that he was not going to be released till the Fatwa prisoners were released.

Mr. Das continuing said his point was that the people were denied the triumph which was theirs. If the questioner would read his speeches, he would find that it was not his view that Swaraj would come as a gift from the British Parliament. The third question was particularly insulting and it asked, "If you thought that the Bureaucracy had been bent and had been ready to receive your terms, why did you not on your own responsibility arrange for the Round Table? The Bureaucracy would have been quite glad by releasing you to gain your services in arranging the Round Table."

"I should have thought," Mr. Das replied, "any honest non-co-operator should have been ashamed to put such a question to me. I should like to know from the questioner what credentials he has got for public service. I will tell him this—I will not answer the insults—my life is a contradiction to such insults. If there is one man in the Congress who has never co-operated with the Government, it is myself—I will tell him the terms were offered to me. I did not accept them because at that time there was a man who was the leader of all India and because I was in prison. And I knew that critics like the questioner were not

wanting in this country. If I had accepted them, would not this very gentleman get up and say, "You purchased your release by that operation ?" You have to deal with all sorts and conditions of people and my only regret is that there should be found critics of this description amongst non-co-operators."

Mr. Das next explained the programme of the Swarajya Party.

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AT NAGERKOIL

The Native States of India occupy a unique position. They are neither fish nor flesh. They have to play second fiddle to the Government of India, but yet they have the trappings of independence. The continued existence of these autocratically Governed Native States is a danger to the national movement. Either they must be democratic or must cease to exist. Otherwise, they will form the last trench of the Bureaucracy in its fight against India's freedom. The Congress will have to tackle this question, sooner or later. But, meantime, the Congress does not interfere in the politics of the State but carries on only constructive work there.

To a large mind like Das's, these nice distinctions have no meaning. So he says, in this speech, "Whatever the political character of the different States may be, there is no gainsaying the fact that, after all, deep behind all political movements, lies the bond of unity of sympathy and of love."

The catholicity of his mind is shown, when he says, "It is for India to accept Christ, and the spirit of India has always accepted great *Avatars* and great personalities as revelation of God."

He makes a powerful plea for Swadeshi, the development of the culture of the Indian nation, and the removal of untouchability. He asks his hearers to rise above all artifical barriers, for "Life calls to life."

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DESABANDHU DAS and party, leaving Tenkasi by train arrived at Trivandrum early morning. A large gathering met them on the station platform and accorded to them a warm reception. The party motored to the maidan adjoining the public offices, where thousands of youngmen had met together to hear the message of Desabandhu. On arrival Mr.

Das was received by Mr. Kumaran, the local Congress Secretary and conducted to the Shamiana which was neatly decorated with the emblems of the different religiuos and also the national flag.

On Mr. Das taking his seat on the platform under a beautiful canopy, Mr. K. Kumaran addressed a few words on behalf of the citizens of the place.

Das's Appeal to Travancoreans

Mr. Das, who on rising was given an ovation, said :—

Friends,—Although I have appeared this morning before some of my countrymen who are subjects of a different State altogether, I do not feel I have come amongst strangers ; and your welcome assures me that I am amongst friends. I have no connection with Travancore politics ; nor am I aware whether there is any such thing.

Swadeshi

But all the people within the boundaries of India are within the sphere of the great Indian nationality. I have never believed in what is called politics in Europe, but I believe in nationalism. I believe that India, consisting of the people from several parts of India, has got a message to deliver to humanity. It is that I shall ask you to prepare yourselves. Nobody is fit to deliver a message, unless he becomes fit himself. I shall therefore expect you to be clad in Khadi. I shall expect you to give up the things which are foreign to your nature. I shall expect you to fall back upon your ancient scriptures of the Hindus and of the Mahamma-

dans and also, if I may be permitted to say, of Christians, because Christianity is an Asiatic religion and Europe has accepted it without Christ. (Cheers). It is for India to accept Christ, and the spirit of India has always accepted great Avatars, and great personalities as revelations of God. I want you to realise that there is no essential distinction between matters which are social and matters which are called political. I want you to work for the uplift of humanity and the only fundamental principle of nationality is that it contributes to the greater life of humanity. I therefore should advise you to improve the education, of both men and women. I do not know how women's education is prospering here. It must prosper or you must always remain in the backwaters of life. With reference to this question of education,

National Education.

I shall ask you to remember one thing, namely that you must not forget the essential characteristics of your national culture. Education as it is going on in British India, is nothing but the superimposition of a foreign culture upon our culture. I want you to guard against that. Culture is the same all over the world; and I want you to approach the question in no narrow spirit. If European culture must be possessed by our people, see that our people possess it; see that European culture does not possess our people. I want you to develop that capacity which will enable you to accept or reject. If you accept, you accept it like a master and bend

it to your use. If you reject it you reject it like a master because it is no use to you. All that I want you to guard against is that you may not be utterly possessed by it. Of all conquests, cultural conquest is the worst. The principle of nationality is to keep your culture intact and to develop it and hold it before the whole world. The conquest by European culture of your own culture is like blowing out your own light. When the light of culture goes, life becomes extinct. In the same way, I ask you to see that education prospers and to see to the uplift of all the classes of people within this territory.

The Untouchables.

I do not know if you possess that class of untouchables whom I have seen elsewhere in this province. (A voice "in abundance"), It is due to your culture, due to the spirit of Christianity, of Hinduism and of Mahomedanism to see that that disgraceful state of things is brought to a close. Here the best of every religion may combine to fight against oppression, prejudice and tyranny. In the same spirit, I ask you to keep the door of communication between your province and the rest of India free and open. I should be glad to find my countrymen here pulsating with sympathy for the rest of India. I should love to see the rest of India possess the same spirit of sympathy towards the subjects of these States. If there is a disaster in Bengal, say famine or flood, I expect you to rush to their help. If there is a similar disaster here, I expect the whole of India to respond. Whatever the political character of the different State

may be, there is no gainsaying the fact that after all, deep behind all political movements, lies the bond of unity of the different parts of India. The bond is a bond of unity, of sympathy and of love. It is these feelings and sentiments that I wish you to foster. If it is not permissible to you to take part in the political agitation in the rest of India, it is at any rate permissable to you to exchange sympathy with them and help them in times of disaster. If you do that, you will find you have secured the real basis of nationality. Only then you can laugh at politicians who raise artificial barriers and think they are very wise. The life of India will not be shut in anywhere. It will overflow the barriers put up. Life calls to life and you must give, if you want to get. You must get, if you want to give. It is this exchange of spirit, of sympathy and of love that I want you to do in politics. This is what I have got to say to you this morning. (Loud applause.)

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AT COIMBATORE

At Coimbatore a hearty welcome awaited Desabandhu Das, and it was a remarkable circumstance that even non-Brahmins of the avowed justice type joined enthusiastically in the reception.

After attending the Non-Brahmin Round Table Conference Mr. Das made his appearance in the public meeting arranged in the public park. It was a vast concourse of people that had met there to do him honour and the demonstration was one which Coimbatore might really be proud of. All classes of people irrespective of their political leanings were represented, and almost everybody who is anybody in this town, both from among Brahmins and non-Brahmins, was present. It was indeed a happy circumstance that despite impediments thrown in their way, the organisers were able to get up such a splendid reception. Rumours were current that a great deal of indirect pressure had been brought to bear from influential and powerful quarters upon those who took more or less a leading part in the public reception. And, if these were true, it must be said to the credit of these gentlemen that they were able to withstand such outside pressure.

Addresses

Addresses were presented to Mr. Das by Mr. Palanisamy Goundar, Mr. Ayyaswamy Goundar, and Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer on behalf respectively of the Citizens, the Congress Committee and the Bar Association.

Mr. Das's Speech.

In replying to the addresses Mr. Das made a lengthy speech.

He said he considered himself fortunate in having succeeded in drawing the love and affection of the people of Madras. But he had not been so successful as regards his critics. The language of his speeches was plain enough to be understood by honest and blunt people, but those who were gifted with too much intellect probably found it somewhat difficult to understand him; and naturally they were led away by the very strength of their intellect into paths which he had forsaken. He was not prepared to give to logic what was meant for his country and when he left the Bar, he had thought he had left such subtleties of mind, but the Bar pursued him with unreltenting vigour in the shape of his critics.

'I now come to the criticism put forward by orthodox non-co-operators,' proceeded Mr. Das, 'I mean the seceeders from the majority party. I must deal with the criticism of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari because I am told he made his speech in English, so that I may understand it and reply to it. I cannot therefore be guilty of the discourtesy of not noticing his speech. Indeed I have the highest respect for Mr. Rajagopalachari. I am afraid his respect for me is not half as deep as my respect for him. I find throughout his speech against me, delicate touches which I should have expected in a court of law. The skill of his advocacy I greatly admire. It is full of artistic touches such as would do credit to the greatest lawyer in India. He prefaces his

criticism by defending Mr. Vijiaraghavachari. I am glad that Mr. Rajagopalachari has got such high appreciation for Mr. Vijiaraghavchari. I have no doubt that under the present circumstances Mr. Vijayaraghavachari will return the compliment. Mr. Rajagopalachari says that I was wrong when I charged Mr. Vijayaraghavachari with antipathy towards me. There is one little point which has apparently escaped Mr. Rajagopalachari's attention. I did not charge Mr. Vijayaraghavachari with conscious antipathy, but unconscious antipathy, and to that charge I plead guilty. But I should have thought that Mr. Rajagopalachari knew something of this unconscious antipathy. But apparently that was my mistake. Because does not Mr. Rajagopalachari assure that Mr. Vijiaraghavachari does not suffer from any antipathy ? I should certainly accept this and my duty and love for Mr. Rajagopalachari compels me to accept the statement.

Some Delicate Touches

I shall refer to some of the delicate touches. He begins by agreeing with me. He told the audience at Madura that I was quite right in telling them that we had not done sufficient work and that, "You ought to satisfy Mr. Das and do more khaddar work." Then follows a sentence which is a delicate touch. "I do not agree that because we did not wear khaddar, we ought to go to the Council." He does not say I said this and he leaves it to the audience to infer that my argument is that because you are not doing sufficient khaddar work, therefore you should go to the Counlils. May

I point out to Mr. Rajagopalachari, if he is not aware of it, that it is not my point ? I only told those who believed in constructive work alone, that they ought to do a great deal more of constructive work. How does it follow, may I ask, from that observation that because you do not do sufficient khaddar work, therefore you should go into the Council ? Then again, he agrees with me when I ask them to enrol more members to the Congress Committees. Then occurs the sentence which is another delicate touch. "I do not agree with Desabandhu that if we send members to the Legislative Council, we shall begin enrolling members to the Congress." Surely I never said that, and the inference does not follow from what I said. But any body reading this speech or hearing it, may come to the conclusion that I had in fact been guilty of that stupidity.

Way to Hindu Muslim Unity

Then he refers to Hindu Moslem Unity. "Can Mr. Das's canvassing for votes" he indignantly asks "bring about union between Hindus and Mahomedans ?" May I ask, does the making of speeches on the platform bring about unity ? I asked the question at Madura—what has the Congress Committee done to bring about this unity, and what practical steps had been undertaken by it ? Those who rely on constructive work so strongly that they think that that is the only way of Swaraj, may I not ask them, will that bring Swarajya. The remedy which I suggest is simply "work together and you will bring about unity". If you only talk, you will never bring it about. And I suggest

that if the whole Congress takes up this question of Council-entry, in addition to the constructive work, they will find Hindus and Muslims working together for the Councils. I want the Congress to increase its field of activitiy so that Hindus and Mahomedans may both work together. Those Hindus and Mahamadans who believe in constructive work alone will work together and those Hindus and Mahomedans who believe in Council-entry will also work together. The question of Hindu-Muslim unity is not a separate question. It is a question of the sincerity of Congress work. When the Congress was a living force, there was unity between the Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab. When the Congress suffered from depression, a thousand enmities have suddenly sprung up between the two communities. You must find common work for them and it is on that Common work alone that unity can grow. Is it a fair answer to that argument to say that mere canvassing for votes will not bring about unity ? No programme can do it. It is the working together of any programme that can do it. I invite the Congress therefore to increase its field of activity, so as to throw together people of different temperaments.

Wrecking the Councils

Then we come to the philosophy of wrecking the Councils. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has interpreted this phrase in a manner which does credit to his power of subtlety of thought. "The only fight which the rules permit is the fight of words," says Mr. Rajagopalachari. I think he has forgotten the rules. I think the

rules permit action of a definite character, disallowance of the Budget and so on. If you have the majority, the rules permit that any measure which is introduced by the Government may be defeated. If you do that, do you or do you not wreck the Councils? You do; because certification is the exercise of executive authority. If the Government rules merely by certification, it is abundantly clear that the Reforms Act is defeated. When Mahatma Gandhi called upon the country to boycott the Councils for the purpose of wrecking the reforms what did he mean? Supposing the Congress proposals entirely succeeded and not one single voter had voted and every one of the seats was left vacant, in what sense would that be wrecking the Reforms? Would the reserve powers and the Government cease to exist? No. So what you can accomplish, if the Congress proposal had entirely succeeded, is that the Government would not be able to govern through the Reform Councils. That is wrecking the Reforms; that is what I want to do because the other plan has failed. Why is it that in my case the executive power of the Government is flourished and when you are considering the Congress proposals you forget that entirely? If the existense of the reserve powers in the Government is the defect, then the defect is common to both the procedures. But Mahatma Gandhi had a far greater insight; he wanted to wreck not the reserve powers; he did not bother about them; he wanted to wreck that thing which went by the name of Reforms. I agree in the object entirely and absolutely; I differ only from the method employed by the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi's trust in human nature was great. I have seen more of the seamy side of life than Mahatma Gandhi had. Mahatma Gandhi even expected that the Moderates would not go into the Council, if the Congress asked them not to, and unless the majority of voters voted for them. His trust was really pathetic. Indeed, I have hardly come across a man so great, having such deep trust in his fellow-men. Even the Nagpur resolution will show to you that he expected Moderates to resign their seats, because they had not been elected by the majority of the voters. How the Moderates responded to that trustful call we all know, and we find that in spite of this boycott of Councils, the Councils flourish. But Mr. Rajagopalachari is not to be defeated so easily. He claims that he has already wrecked the Councils. You would have thought it was a joke, but I am actually using his very words. "In the only sense in which wrecking the Councils is possible, it has already been effected." There is the grim fact staring your faces and you say it has already been wrecked. I suppose it is Maya. The laws which were passed are also a part of that Maya. The Criminal Law Amendment Act under which thousands and thousands of our young men went to jail, was also Maya. The salt-tax was also Maya. Then he puts forward this beautiful passage in justification of what he understands by wrecking.

Already Wrecked ?

"Wrecking Councils means merely making Councils obviously useless." Are the Councils obviously use less ? Are they not to-day the strongest weapons in

the hands of the Bureaucracy ? To destroy the Council is merely to destroy the delusion about Councils." To destroy the delusion about Councils ! In what sense are Maya delusion ? "It does not give you Swaraj." That is the truth "It does not give you any foundation for Swaraj." That is the truth. But why do you forget it was not intended to give you Swaraj ? Because we have not got Swaraj through the Councils, does it follow that is a delusion ? The maxim guns which mowed down people in the Punjab—were they a delusion ? Is the fact that hundreds of our countrymen were dragged into prison with hand-cuffs in their hands, a delusion ? They have pronounced that the Councils are a delusion that we have destroyed that delusion and therefore we have wrecked the Councils. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari adds this significant passage. "Government has provided rules to protect the Councils from destruction." Therefore even Mr. Rajagopalachari is keenly alive to the fact that although he would say he has wrecked the Councils he has not succeeded in destroying them. (Applause) Even to-day inspite of the decisions of the All-IndiaCongress Committee, Mr. Rajagopalachari is bent on obstructing people going into the Councils. How can you go into the Councils when theCouncils have already been wrecked? Then, why do you obstruct people when there is nothing to go to, because the Councils are wrecked ? May I ask if the Government has provided rules which makes destruction impossible ? What is the use of boycotting Council and what is the use of entertaining hopes that Moderates would not go into the Councils

without the majority of voters on our side? The truth is Mr. Rajagopalachari cannot take his stand against wrecking of Councils; because Mahatma Gandhi had enjoined that. Therefore he is forced to say that the Councils have already been wrecked. But even he sees the absurdity of the position and therefore says that although they are wrecked they are not destroyed. In answer to that I say "go and destroy it."

The Maricha Hunt

I am afraid I have detained you long. But I cannot end this address without dealing with Mr. Rajagopalachari's misreading of the Ramayana. He says, "I can only compare the Councils to Mareecha. These Councils even like the bejewelled deer that captivated the mind of Seetha are drawing us to danger. When Lakshmana said it could not be a real deer, but a Rakshasa, Rama insisted it was a Rakshasa and he would kill it. In the same manner Mr. Das, our dear Rama, says he must destroy the councils. But we all know Valmiki has told us the sad story—that it is by the hunt after that bejewelled deer that Seeta was lost." I am afrid Mr. Rajagopalachari read the Ramayana to no purpose. (Laughter). When the Moderate brought this Reform Act from England, it is they who presented the bejewelled deer. Therefore Rama is not myself, but somebody else. When I come on the scene, I find Seeta in captivity in Ceylon bound by the chains of the Reform Act; her hands and feet tied. Mr. Rajagopalachari askes the question should Lakshmana also go? I say, Yes.

Because, Seeta, our country, is in captivity, if Rama and Lakshmana and the whole army do not cross over to Ceylon how could Seeta be rescued? It is to that glorious fight I am inviting you to-night. I want you to fulfil the history of the Ramayana. I appeal to those who will constitute the army of Swaraj to go and fight in the enemy's citadel as it were, unchain Seeta, and bring her home to the Land of freedom. Will you refuse to take part in this *Dharma Yuddha*? (Loud and prolonged cheering and cries of Vande-mataram.)

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A Statement About the Compromise.

SPEAKING at a public meeting at Salem, presided over by Dr. Varadarajulu, Desabandhu Das said :—

In my speech at Madras, I used some expressions with regard to the policy by which the proposed compromise in December was sought to be reached. I am told that the use of that expression or those expressions has pained some of my opponents who are full of kindness to me. There are people who seek to make political capital out of that, and to them I do not refer. But when an honourable opponent like Dr. Ansari for whom I have the greatest respect says that I have cast aspersions on the Mahatma, I have got to consider that accusation. And if any expression of mine has caused him pain, it is my duty to withdraw that expression unreservedly. I notice that another friend of mine for whom I have very great respect, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, refers to this expression as regrettable. I can assure these gentlemen that nothing was farther from my mind than to show any disrespect to the greatest Indian who is at present in jail. And to one of my way of thinking, the language which I have employed cannot mean any aspersions on Mahatma. I was not dealing with Mahatma Gandhi at all. The personality of Mahatma Gandhi was not in my mind at all when I dealt with that point. I was tracing the causes which in my opinion have led to the depression. To my mind these causes are clear. Amongst other

things the causes are, firstly, the rejection of the compromise in Calcutta and secondly the withdrawal of the fight. It is in reference to these matters I said that we had strangled the enthusiasm of the country. I may be right or I may be wong, but that is my opinion. I am entitled to place that opinion for the consideration of the country. It was with this policy that I was dealing the other day, and in referring to this policy I said to the country: "You had bungled, you had mismanaged the situation. I was dealing with it, as if the Indian National Congress had adopted that policy, referring to the audience I said "You had mismanaged it, you had bungled it. What is the good of blaming the people of this country now?" I cannot think how this can be taken as casting any aspersions on the Mahatma. I did not even mention his name; but I understand and appreciate the feeling which it has roused in certain quarters. Probably my friends—I am referring to my kind friends—thought that as Mahatma was the originator of this policy, my observations could only refer to him. They may be justified in so thinking. But I can assure my friends that I was not thinking of Mahatma Gandhi at all. I was thinking of the causes which led to the depression.

No Aspersion on Mahatmaji

But even assuming I did refer to Mahatma Gandhi, there is nothing in those expressions which are objectionable. They are Parliamentary expressions, and they merely mean that I emphatically differ from that policy, and assert that the rejection of those terms and

the withdrawal of the fight were great mistakes. I have yet to learn, that if you say that a great man has committed mistakes with reference to a particular policy, you cast aspersions on him. Has not history shown, over and over again, that great men in this world have committed fatal mistakes at times? I think that Indian history is full of those mistakes. Is stating that to cast aspersions on those great men ? I had no idea that the words I employed were capable of this interpretation. But I must take facts as they are. When I find men like Dr. Ansari and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya regard them as objectionable, I unhesitatingly and unreservedly withdraw those expressions.

It is not my intention, and never was my intention to cause pain to any living being. I thought that this country knew that I was incapable of showing any disrespect to Mahatma Gandhi, nor did I show any disrespect. I should be ashamed of myself if I did. I had great respect for Mahatma Gandhi at a time when I was most against him. At Amritsar we were poles asunder. He was for complete co-operation ; I was for complete non-co-operation ; but even then I yielded to no man in my respect and esteem for Mahatma Gandhi. I have stated what my opinion is. I do not give up my view, and I press upon you to consider the causes which led to the present depression. You may ask me,—what is the use of going to these past things ? I would be guilty of wantonness, if there was really no use. I tell you what the use is. There is a complete agreement on all sides that depression exists. If you do not trace the causes of this depres-

sion, how will you succeed in lifting the country out of this depression? That was all I was concerned about. In connection with that statement, base and unworthy motives have been attributed to me. People have affected to make confessions which are nothing but the forging of new weapons to direct their attack on me. Every kind of untrue statement has been made, and every kind of base insinuation has been put forward. Confessions, sincere and genuine confessions, for your mistakes, errors and sins are good for the souls, but these confessions are hurled at me, very much in the same spirit, in which barbarians of old hurled poisoned arrows and darts.

I will not waste your time in dealing with these ingenious and ingenuous confessions. All that I need say to my friends who rush to make confessions is that it is not sufficeint merely, superficially to imitate the ways of Mahatma Gandhi. You must have that spirit of humility, upon which and upon which alone the true confession can be based. A confession which is merely a convenient way of attack is not a confession. I leave out the personal attacks and I hope God will give me strength to overlook such attacks.

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AT SALEM

Reply to Municipal Address

DESABANDHU Das finished his Tamil Nadu tour with his visit to Salem. The people accorded to him a cordial welcome. The streets were all tastefully decorated and the route through which he was to pass was spanned by *thoranams* and festoons.

Mr. Das proceeded to the Municipal office, in the spacious hall of which a large gathering of the citizens and City-fathers had assembled and received an address there from the Municipality. At the entrance into the compound Mr. Das and party were met by the Municipal Chairman and a few other prominent Councillors and conducted into the hall, amidst the deafening cheers of those present.

Mr. Das took his seat, whereupon Mr. S. C. Venkatappa Chetty, the Chairman read the Municipal Address which stated among other things :—

After the New District Municipalities Act came into force, the General Elections were held in the year 1921 and the Electors returned Congressmen for 18 out of the 24 elective seats. Soon after the formation of the Council, we had the rare privilege of welcoming Mahatmaji to our town and in our address, we undertook to carry out his programme, so far as it was possible for us to do. In attempting to redeem this promise, we passed a resolution advocating total prohibition and recommending peaceful picketting of liquor shops by the Councillors. Some of the Councillors including the Chairman were served with Orders

under Section 144 prohibiting their activities in this direction. Another resolution of the Council desiring all Municipal subordinates to wear Khadddar was vetoed by the Collector and the veto was upheld by the Government. The resolution to supply uniforms made of Khaddar to such subordinates as are required to wear uniforms has however not been interfered with. Spinning has been introduced in our Elementary Schools as an additional subject and is popular with the boys.

After referring to Mr. Das's self-sacrifice and his desire to bring about the settlement of the differences which have existed among the non-Brahmins of Southern India the address went on to say:

We are constrained however to state that differences among the Congressmen are increasing day by day and we fervently pray that before long these differences may disappear and we may be enabled to work harmoniously towards the attainment of Swaraj for which the world's greatest man is undergoing incarceration in the Yerrawada Jail.

Mr. Das's Speech

Desabandhu Das, rising amidst loud applause spoke as follows :

My friends, the members of the Salem Municipal Council—Allow me to thank you for the address you have just now presented to me. You have referred to what I have done as a great sacrifice. I thank you for your good wishes. I feel I have done very little, whereas it would be the merest affectation on my part to say I have done nothing. I am oppres-

sed with the feeling that I could have done much more. But life has become so conventional that it is not usual to accept these flattering praises as literal. I read in them your affection, your good wishes and your love for me. And for that, allow me to express my gratitude to you.

The Non-Brahmin Problem

You have in this address referred to my desire of bringing about a settlement of the differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins of this province. That wish, I take it, is universal. But the difficulties are so great, that even my hopeful disposition makes it a matter of very grave doubt. My services are entirely at your disposal in that direction, but may I point out that if these differences are to be settled, it must be on a basis of mutual sacrifice and mutual surrender? And that cannot be the task of one man or even of a number of men. The desire must be shared by every one of you, and so intensely, that no one of you will rest satisfied till the settlement is arrived at. If that is the fact, I assure you of success. If there is no expression of even a strong desire, I cannot assure you of success. You have said that this wish for an arrangement has not hitherto succeeded, and no one in this Presidency has been able to attain success. May I point out that it is because you have not hitherto earnestly wished for it? If you had, men would not have been wanting, and success would certainly have been yours.

Personal Attacks

You have next referred to the differences amongst Congressmen. That is a matter of consi-

derable pain to me. But if these differences exist, I am not at all apprehensive of success. I do not deplore differences based on principles and on vital principles. But what I do deplore is that that differences are fast degenerating into personal squabbles. My position is somewhat unfortunate today. I am accidentally associated with a cause and with the success of a party. Therefore personal attacks which under other circumstances I could have ignored, I am not in a position to do. If it had been a mere question of personal abuse unconnected with the cause which I represent, I assure you I possess the discipline not to refer to it at all. But when misrepresentations are made with the object of striking at the cause through me and dragging it down, I feel I am bound to speak out. You have expressed the desire that I may be a true disciple of the great saint to whom you refer. I have in my mind no doubt that I am a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. But in present day politics, tests are requested which I cannot fulfil. What is required of me now is to subordinate my judgment entirely and absolutely. I cannot do that ; I have never done that; and that test which Mahatma Gandhi himself would never have applied. I believe him to be one of the greatest men the world has ever produced. I believe that he is a matter of glory so far as this country is concerned. I believe in the principle of non-violent Non-co-operation, which he put forward before the country. But I cannot surrender my judgment to this extent, that I cannot express my dissent from a single item of his Non-co-operation programme. The

expression of such dissent is the right, I believe, of a true disciple, and that is the right, I speak from experience, which Mahatma Gandhi had always recognised. You have expressed the hope that these differences may be adjusted. I believe, if Mahatma Gandhi had been amongst us to-day working with us, these differences would have been adjusted. There were differences at one time, just as great, between myself and Mahatma Gandhi, which were adjusted at Nagpur. Mahatma Gandhi is man of vision, a man of deep insight, a practical man and a man of affairs ; and yet with all that, the greatest dreamer who has ever dreamt dreams. A man so great and yet so practical would certainly have found out a way. Those disciples of his who are now stooping to personal attacks against me, I declare, are no disciples of Mahatma Gandhi.

You have referred to what you have done in the way of following the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a matter of congratulation for you and all of us, that you have succeeded in doing as much. My hope is that the present depressing circumstances may not depress you, and that you will continue to follow in the path which you have chosen for yourselves. And I pray your work may be such that you may defeat all the attempts under Section 144. (Cheers.)

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AT SALEM

THE public reception held in Salem in honour of Desabandhu Das was largely attended. Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu presided. Welcome addresses were read on behalf of the Citizens of Salem, the Bala Swarajya Sangam, the Devanga community and the Khilafat Committee.

Desabandhu Das replied to the addresses presented : " Before I deal categorically with the different items of my programme, I should like to refer to certain criticisms which, although kindly meant, might cause some confusion of ideas. Referring to the question of the proposed settlement in December 1921, my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari said the other day at Madura that the victory which I had mentioned was not real, that it had only the appearance of victory and that I was most anxious to put forward the appearance as the reality. I said that by the civil disobedience which was pursued in December we had secured a victory and the Government bent down before us. From one point of view Mr. Rajagopalachari's observation was correct. If you conceive of the victory which directly and immediately leads to Swaraj, as the only victory, my friend was quite right when he said that this was not a real victory. But if you take this struggle for freedom, as I take it to be based not on one complete victory but a series and succession of victories, the victory in December last was a complete victory. That was not the final victory I admit. But it was none the less a real victory. The extent of that victory is exactly the extent to which the

Bureaucracy yielded. That is the measure of victories in national struggles. That was the extent, if you want to measure it, to which the non-co-operation movement had succeeded. And if I complain about that matter, it is because I feel the people were not allowed to taste the fruits of the victory obtained by non-co-operation. If we succeeded more in our non-co-operation, the victory will be greater, and so on must we proceed victory to victory, till we attain the greatest victory which is Swaraj.

My Programme

This at once brings you to the point that you cannot hope to achieve any victory or attain Swaraj, without the displacement of the Bureaucracy? How must you proceed to displace the Bureaucracy? If you just consider what is the power which will displace the Bureaucracy, you must come to the conclusion that the power is the power of the people to offer resistance to the Bureaucracy. To my mind, that is the secret of the non-co-operation movement. You must make the people strong, so that they can offer resistance to the Bureaucracy. The programme of action which I recommend to the people of this country, and which has been adopted by the Swarajya Party is this. In the first place, you must go on with the constructive work of the Congress with redoubled energy. In the next place, you must formulate the national pact by which all classes and communities may move together. In the third place, you must strengthen the different sections with a view that they may contribute their strength to the struggle for Swaraj. You must take the labouring

classes as a whole, and try to put new vigour into them. In the next place, you must look out to the greater India, beyond the Himalayas and form an Asiatic Federation. That is the meaning, I understand, of Pan-Islamism. The natural evolution of this Pan-Islamic movement is the Pan-Asiatic movement. A federation of Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians, of all great religions that proceeded from India, is what I mean by a Pan-Asiatic Federation. They are also oppressed; they are also depressed. We want their sympathy and their love. Then you must have foreign propaganda, to enlist the sympathy of those in the whole world who are lovers of freedom. I want you to emerge from narrow grooves of thought and embrace the whole world. I know you cannot do that completely, before you have obtained Swaraj. But is there any reason why you should neglect the loving affection of those who are lovers of freedom and who are as much interested in the freedom of India as in the freedom of any other country in the world? Believe me, all over the world there are bands of such freedom-loving people. I am not referring to the selfish nationalists all over the country; but to those classes of men who emerge from narrow grooves of nationality and put forth their arms to embrace the depressed classes, and the oppressed classes all over the world. That nations are by themselves made, is absolutely true. But is that any reason why you should discard and reject love when it is offered to you?

Capture the Forts of the Bureaucracy

Further, you must capture the forts of the Bureau-

cracy in India—the Municipalities, the Local Boards, the Councils, and the Assembly. You must entrench yourself therein and fight the Bureaucracy. Every corner of your national life is in the possession of the Bureaucracy to-day. Even your minds are dominated by European culture. You cannot run away from them. The only other alternative is to turn round and fight. You must wreck the Reforms. There is an observation made by my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari the other day that the reforms are already wrecked. I dealt with that argument in my speech at Coimbatore. I disagree from that observation. But there is one point of view from which that observation is right. Before the sacred battle of Kurukshetra was fought, Sri Krishna said to Arjuna, "Why are you afraid of killing these ? They are already dead."

The reforms are dead ; and that is the inner message. But this inner message has to manifest itself to the outer world. It is your arms which will accomplish this victory. I ask you to fight in the same spirit, in the belief and conviction that these Reforms are already wrecked. Fight the good fight and illustrate the inner message. Make the wrecking of the Reforms a fact in history, Snatch the weapon of the Councils from the Bureaucracy and your deliverance is at hand.

Join the Fight

I invite you to this glorious fight which is waiting for you. I call upon the young and the old to join hands. I call upon all those who are fighting onwards to come together again and form part of the same great army which will win Swaraj for us. I

want you to rescue the Indian National Congress from the dead weight of dogmas which are crushing it down. Stretch out your arms and embrace all sections, the upholders of different views. Realise that it is the one spirit which is manifesting itself in different forms. Those who do not want to make pretence of Swaraj, those who really fight for the sacred cause are all animated by the same spirit. I want you to combine them all into one army. Let the office-seekers and place-hunters get their offices and places. I have no complaint against them. But let all those who are fighting for Swaraj and who have realised that the method of non-violent non-co-operation is the only method which will secure Swaraj, rally round the sacred banner. It is only then that you will make manifest the inner message of Indian History. I want you to realise in a spirit of truth and reverence that this thing whichyou are about to fight, already lies dead. You are wanting in courage, that is why you do not see it. You are wanting in fight, that is why you do not engage in it. You are depresed, that is why you have no hope. Rally round the banner and march onward to the fight and the victory is yours (Cheers.)

Desabandhu Das next proceeded to answer certain questions put to him. The first of them was with a view to elicit his opinion if the policy of complete obstruction in the Councils has been accepted by his party as such. Mr. Das replied that his party had accepted that principle unanimously and his programme which had been printed and circulated would show that.

After answering one or two questions in respect

of Mr. K. Natarajan's views as regards the Swarajya party programme, Mr. Das asked what was the use of putting such questions. Was there complete unanimity among the majority party? And yet the majority Party went on with its work. Why special conditions should be imposed on the Swarajya party, he did not know.

"Then there are certain other questions," Mr. Das went on," which it is difficult for me to answer. One of them refers to Swami Shraddanandha's movement. I have not had sufficient time to study it and I should not like to make a statement on it, before I am possessed of all the facts. Part of it, I myself investigated and the result of it has already been published in the form of a manifesto signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Naidu, myself and few others.

"A question is asked : what about the decision of the "Jamiut-ul-Ulema."? That I cannot answer, and it is for the Mahomedans to decide. I have heard from enlightened Mahomedans that it is no obstacle to contesting the elections. I have heard from others that it is an obstacle. It is a religious point and I cannot express any opinion. I do not know whether Mahomedans will alter their decision. There is already a great change among a great many of them in that direction."

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AT ERODE

Powers Under the Constitution

AT Gobichettipalayam a number of addresses were presented to Mr. Das by, among others, the Citizens, the Union Board, and the Bar Association.

Mr. Das thanked the gathering for the addresses and said that what he desired to see was more sacrifice and more activity. He wanted to see every one of them every morning to say to himself that before the day was over he would do something for Swaraj, and if at night when he went to bed, he could not say he had done something, he would ask them to feel the disappointment. Everyone could do something for Swaraj. At least for an hour or half an hour a day, they should think of Swaraj, of the bondage of a foreign Bureaucracy. It was only when they felt the degradation of that bondage, they could rise to their full height. Everybody, rich or poor, could offer some contribution to the cause. Even the Government officials could do something for Swaraj. They could do a great deal if they did their work honestly and courageously. Let them not be false to their country but let them be courageous in doing their duty. If they had undertaken Government service, they had not undertaken slavery.

Mr. Das next asked the audience to prepare themselves for the great fight before them. The path he had indicated was the path which led them to the battle. Some of his countrymen thought that the only way to

destory the cause was to throw mud on him. Let them not pay any attention to it. If they felt that his cause was just, let them follow him,

A. I. C. C. or The P. C. C.

A question was asked by a member of the audience whether the Tamil Nadu should follow the All-India Congress Committee's decision or the Provincial Congress Committee's decision. Mr. Das answered thus:—

The question is a proper one having regard to the confusion created. The difficulty people feel is this. The A. I. C. C. is a subordinate body, and so how can it affect, over-rule or modify the decision of the Congress? The confusion of thought which underlies these discussions is this. The powers of A. I. C. C. are to be gathered form the constitution of the Congress. A resolution of the Congress is to be followed, because its authority is derived from the constitution. The validity of the decision of the A. I. C. C. similarly depends on the constitution. Therefore to consider the question whether the A.I.C.C decision should be followed or not, one should look into the constitution. The question is not, whether the Congress is superior to A. I. C. C. or A. I. C. C is superior to Congress : but what are the powers of the A. I. C. C. according to the constitution. You must remember that the Congress sits only once a year, and that the A. I. C. C. under the constitution may meet as often as the members choose. Therefore to deal with matters after one session of the Congress is over, and before the next session of the Congress,

some powers are given to the A. I. C. C. in the constitution. Rule 21 gives three kinds of powers to A. I. C. C. Firstly it gives power to execute the Congress resolutions. Secondly it gives legislative power to deal with any new situation. Thirdly it gives power to the A. I. C. C. to make rules to carry out both kinds of work. It is idle therefore to say that the A. I. C. C. can only execute. Under the very constitution, the A. I. C. C. may also legislate. The question then is, is there a new situation? If there is a new situation, the A. I. C. C. may legislate. And because the Congress constitution gives the power to the A. I. C. C. to legislate when a new situation arises, it gives also the power to the All India Congress Committee, to decide whether a new situation has arisen. The All India Congress Committee has judged that there is a new situation. The All India Congress Committee, has therefore legislated. The resolution of the All India Congress Committee therefore derives its validity form the same constitution, from which the Congress derives its authority. If at the present moment one asks what is the decision about Council-boycott, the reply is the Gaya resolution as affected by the All India Congress Committee's decision. The argument which is raised as to the respective value of Congress and All India Congress Committee resolutions is invalid. If any body of people think that the All India Congress Committee has decided wrongly, the remedy also is supplied by the constitution. The remedy is twofold.

A Twofold Rmedy

First of all the members may ask the All India Congress Committee to call a Special Congress. That resolution was brought in the All India Congress Committee and the Committee over-ruled it by an overwhelming majority. There is another remedy open to them. It is open under the rules for the majority of the Provincial Congress Committes to ask the All India Congress Committee to convene a Special Congress. That has not been done. If that is done, it will be for the All India Congress Committee to consider whether to call a special session of the Congress or refuse it. But what has been done by the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee is absolutely unconstitutional. It is this. They say we do not care for the All India Congress Committee. We care only for the Congress resolution. But both are Congress resolutions, according to the Congress constitution. As I pointed out the other day, every District Committee can now say we will not follow the Provincial Congress Committee resolution, but only the All India Congress Committee decision. Every Taluk Committee may say the same thing. What would be the result?—the utter ruin of the Congress constitution. If Mr. Rajagopalachari wants to obstruct elections, it is open to him to do so on his own responsibility. But why should he seek shelter under the authority of Provincial Congress Committee? Would I be right to ask a Provincial Congress Committee where I have a majority to work for the elections? If I do that, I would be just as wrong as Mr. Rajagopalachari

In my view, it would be utterly wrong to do so. If I want to run elections, I must do so on my own responsibility, and not in the name of the Congress. It is the undoubted duty of every man to follow the decision of the All India Congress Committee, because it is the decision of the Congress.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, at the request of the audience, spoke a few words stating that the best appreciation they could show of Mr. Das's services and sacrifices was by responding to his call for action and following his lead.

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At Gandhi Chowk, Erode.

AT the Gandhi Chowk in Erode, a large gathering met to receive Mr. Das. On his arrival, Mr. Thangaperumal Pillai, the Secretary of the Local Congress Committee offered a few words of welcome on behalf of the townsmen.

Mr. Das thanked them for the welcome and excused himself from making any speech by reason of the tiresomeness of a motor journey of over 90 miles at a stretch. "All that I advise you to do" he said, "is to read what I said from different platforms, in the different newspapers. If you want to quote me in connection with any argument, I want you to quote me from my speeches and not to quote from what my opponents say of me. Passages are taken from my speeches, and are so distorted and misrepresented, that it is impossible even for me to recognise that they are mine. I suppose it is political warfare. I have told you in my different speeches that the only way to win Swaraj is to offer battle to the Bureaucracy. It will not help us if we narrow our field of activity. At the present moment, the Bureaucracy is in occupation of the whole of our national life. And unless and until you can displace the Bureaucracy, you cannot obtain Swaraj. You have to fight it all along the line and capture the different institutions and organizations. This is the short message I have to give to you to-night. I want you to think over these questions and I want you to come to a decision on them."

AT CHITTOOR

ADDRESSES were presented to Mr. Das and the first one was read by Mr. Jayarama Aiyar on behalf of the people of the district and the members of the Swarajya party." These expressed their appreciation of the truly Aryan gospel of action which Mr. Das, they said, had been urging in all his utterances.

Mr. S. Desikachari read the address of the Town Congress Committee. "We have been watching with keen interest," it stated "the progress of the cause of Swaraj. We are also deeply touched by the supreme sacrifice which you have offered at the altar of the motherland. We sincerely wish that the cause of Swaraj which we hold so dear to our hearts will attain success."

Mr. Das's Reply.

Mr. Das who, on rising, was loudly cheered expressed his thankfulness for the address.

Replying to the Municipal Address, he said he welcomed the difference of opinion. He did not expect that everybody should agree with him in all the details of his programme. What he expected was that everyone of them should bring to bear his own thoughts upon the problems and come to an independent decision. This was due to themselves and to the country. As long as that was done, Mr. Das said, he was satisfied. His mission that day was to take them back to themselves. They had slept too long for he last so many months. He wanted them to wake

up and address themselves to the problems which concerned them. If they did not accept his programme, he would be the last person to ask them to accept it. But those of them who accepted it, should stand up like men and proclaim to the world the fact of their having done so, There was nothing in any programme as such ; it was the life that was behind it that mattered. The problem was whether they should live or die. If after thought and consideration, they differed from him, he would accept such difference with all gratitude and humility of spirit. But if they brought to bear on the solution, not their thought, but their preconceived prejudice, he would protest against that behaviour.

Test of the Programme

I wish you would not rely on general observations which people are never tired of making that the whole country is in favour of or against any particular programme. I have gone throughout the country and I can assure you it is not true when it is repeatedly said that the country is against me. Whether it is with me or against me, is an irrelevant question at the present day. I am addressing myself only to those who wish well for the country. And the question of all questions is how to get out of this depression. It is only from that point of view it is the duty of every freedom loving Indian to-day to view the situation. That which will bring us out of this depression and lead us again into the path of freedom is the programme which is consistent with spirituality, religion and morality. If the whole of India at present is against

me and yet my programme be sound, the fact that the whole country is against me is no argument against my programme. If on the contrary, the whole country is with me and my programme be unsound, it is no argument in favour of my programme. What the country rejects to-day it accepts to-morrow ; and the success of the country as a nation depends on whether those who desire to serve the country are prepared to sacrifice themselves.

I am willing to submit to that test—the test of cold logic which I am told applies to Madras. I have never shrunk from that logic. If I have used disparaging observations about mere matters of logic, it is because I think that logic is nothing, if it does not satisfy your spiritual nature. But I do not suffer from any difficulty of that kind, because, only that kind of logic appeals to me which is perfectly consonant with my highest nature. In fact, logic and spirituality, if they are true and genuine, must always walk hand in hand.

Destruction and Construction

There were certain phrases, which had resulted in confusion of thought. One was the antithesis, between constructive work and destructive work. In fighting about words, they overlooked the fundamental fact of the existence of the Bureaucracy in British India to-day. To his mind, the truth of all truths in Indian politics at present was that the destruction of the Bureaucracy as the highest piece of constructive work. They could not construct anything in India without displacing the Bureaucracy. Was there any

sphere of activity open to them which was not covered by the authority of the Bureaucracy? Could they develop Khaddar without displacing Manchester? What was Manchester but another manifestation of the Bureaucracy? If they were only looking to the production of Khaddar without seeing to the destruction of Manchester, they were but engaging themselves in an impossible task. Did they expect that the people of this country or for that matter any other country, were capable of continuous sacrifices from year's end to year's end? The Bureaucracy might pass measures which would help to keep up the price of Khaddar to such an extent, that it might become impossible for them to buy. Did they think that when they came to such a point that the Bureaucracy saw Manchester was being displaced, they would keep quite? Commonsense would tell them, they would not. Therefore even in this harmless item of constructive work, they had along with construction to think of destruction. What answer was there to the position that constructive work in Khaddar was impossible unless they kept the Bureaucracy in check? They could turn their faces away from the Bureaucracy but the Bureaucracy would not wither. They could utter any number of *mantras*, but the *mantras* did not affect the Bureaucracy. He welcomed real constructive work, because that would be a case of grappling with the Bureaucracy. That was his programme. But what he protested against was their continuously shouting "Khaddar" and yet not doing any work at all. The other items of constructive work stood exactly on the same footing.

Hindu-Moslem question would always remain an unsolved question, unless and until Hindus and Moslems were found to work hand in hand and march shoulder to shoulder on the field of battle. It was only then it became constructive work; and it commenced also to be destructive work, so far as the Bureaucracy was concerned. But as long as the whole of the activity lay in words, speeches and articles, it was neither constructive not destructive.

Council Entry

Mr. Das dealt in the same manner with other items of constructive work—the boycott of schools and colleges, the Law Courts and the Councils; and said that from the standpoint as to whether constructive work was superior to destructive work or vice versa, there could not be any reasonable objection to Council-entry at all. His claim was that entry into Councils with the fixed determination to destroy them by non-co-operating from within, was as much non-co-operation as the other items of the triple boycott. Councils were not buildings; they were institutions governed by a particular Act. It was the Reforms Act against which they proposed to fight and make it impossible to be worked.

"With regard to the question of success, it depends on the same circumstances on which the other items of non-co-operation depend. It depends on your willingness to fight and on unity among all sections of the Indian community. Success is what is wanted. Whichever method of boycott of Councils succeeds, I am in favour of that method. It is because I feel

that the Congress way of boycotting the Councils will not succeed, I propose another method. If you really believe you can effectively induce the voters not to vote, for God's sake go on obstructing. I shall be very happy to see that all seats remain vacant. I shall with great pleasure withdraw my programme. But if you do not believe that, why should you pursue a phantom? A few votes will see the candidates through. I have asked the Congress Workers about it and they have all agreed that it is impossible to keep the seats vacant.

Councils not Already Wrecked

I cannot accept the argument that the Councils are already wrecked. They are not wrecked; they are passing laws which take away the freedom of the people every moment. Are we eternally to be fed on that argument that the Councils are wrecked? Have you not heard of the phrase, law and order? Have they not forged chains to bind you under that name? Who are responsible? I charge you with the responsibility. You in the Congress and I in the Congress were responsible. We induced the best of us not to go into the Councils. The result was all kinds of self-seeking persons have got there. (applause) You must snatch the weapon of the Councils from their hands. If to prevent that, the Bureaucracy exercise their executive powers, I should welcome that, as a fight between the Bureaucracy and the people. If we fail in that fight we deserve to fail. As long as the Reforms are not wrecked, the enemy lies crouched inside that citadel. It is a kind of fight

with the 'Sikandi' in between. (laughter.) The Bureaucracy in its wisdom has built up a kind of barrier between the Bureaucracy and the people. The reforms are not wrecked; they are about to wreck your activity. Take warning in time. If the reforms are wrecked, it must be in the sense in which the warriors on the field of Kurukshetra lay dead before they were attacked by Arjuna. The reforms are wrecked because that is their fate. Go ye the warriors of Indian freedom, inside the Council and make that eternal message an actual fact in history. (Cries of Vandemataram and Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai.)

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AT TIRUPATI

MR. T. K. Narasimhachari, the Muncipal Chairman, read an address in Telugu expressing appreciation of Mr. Das's services to the country.

A Fundamental Fact

Mr. Das replied to the address in a brief speech. He thanked them for their kindness and said that he accepted their address in the hope that all of them would together succeed in securing the salvation of the country. It was in that hope that he was touring the country, and appealed for help and co-operation. He asked them to realise the fundamental fact of the super-imposition of a foreign Bureaucracy on their national life. Their very food often depended on the fiscal policy of theBureaucracy. Like the sphere of food, every sphere of their national life was covered by the Bureaucracy, in dress,in education,in social matters and even in things spiritual. He had been told that at the time of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, even their Gods came from England. The European industrialists who learnt how to make images of Hindu Gods, sent them in *bronze* to this country : and the Hindus were *brazen* enough to buy these images, consecrate them and worship them. Where was the free spirituality which never shrank from pronouncing the truth in India? Where were the different schools of philosophy which went hand in hand? It was the phrase, 'spirituality' which had survived the spirit which was dead and gone. And Madras which was at one

time the scene of great waves of spirituality, has now become a land of temples and untouchability. To such an extent they were degraded that they took upon themselves to refuse to admit human beings into the temples of God. They could not manage their spiritual institutions and their charitable endowments. And they rushed to the Bureaucracy for an endowment legislation. After that, would anybody say that India was free in matters spiritual ? That was the fundamental fact in their politics. The whole of their life was covered by bureaucratic influence. Therefore if politics was part of self-realisation, this Bureaucracy's hold on our lives must be taken off.

A Fatal Moment

It is a fateful moment in the history of our country. Our fate is trembling in the balance. There is one way—dogmatism, dogma and death. There is another —to fight to victory and to triumph. Which will you take ? Are you for ever to indulge in dogmas and metaphysical disquisitions forgetful of the actual forces of life : or are you going to turn round and do the only thing which is necessary at the present moment. Offer battle to the Bureaucracy from every corner of your national life, seize the guns of the Bureaucracy, save your national life, gather your strength ; push the constructive work and with that wonderful energy which is begotten of conflict, struggle and battle, go on building your national life and destroy the edifice of the Bureaucracy. That is the message I read in the morning sun. I call upon you to clear the mists which are hiding the sun. Reveal yourself in

all your glory. Let it not be said that at this critical moment India denied the task which God had imposed upon her. If you do that, it will be an instance of the greatest denial in the history of mankind. I therefore ask you again to accept the message, to stand like human beings erect in all your strength and proceed to fight the good fight with the Bureaucracy. (Vandemataram.)

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AT NELLORE

Call of the Voice Within

AT Nellore, Dasabandhu Das received addresses from the Citizens, from the Majority Party, and from the Swarajya Party. In replying to them jointly, he points out that programmes do not matter but that the activity behind them matters. And now that Congress activity consists only in words, he invites Congressmen to accept his programme and rouse the country to energy and action. He poignantly appeals to the people to rescue Congress from death.

In the evening, Mr. Das addressed a crowded meeting in the maidan close to the Town-Hall at Nellore. Addresses were presented to him on behalf of the people, the Swarajya party and the Congress Committee; and were respectively read by Messrs. E. Raghava Reddy, V. Raghavayya and Rajagopala Pantulu.

Mr. Das's Reply.

Mr. Das then addressed the gathering as follows :—

"It is difficult for me to deal with the different addresses. I shall deal with the citizen's address because it is written from a detached point of view. The Congress address naturally reflects the opinion of the majority party, and the Swarajya Party address reflects the opinion of the minority party. I do not imply that my point of view is detached. I am certainly not detached. I am very much an impassioned advocate of my programme. A European journal

charged me with being an incorrigible egotist. Sometimes your enemies see the truth about you. When I read that, I was thinking about myself to find out if the charge was true. An analysis is always difficult and sometimes deceptive, but I can assure you I approached the question with all the humility that my heart is capable of feeling. I can assure you there have been moments in the course of the struggle, when I have thought to myself it would be much better to retire from public life for a time in order to ponder over this question sometime more. It has not been a pleasant work for me to separate myself from those whom I love and honour. But there is somthing within me, some voice which I have heard, which would not allow me to rest. I surrendered myself to the all-compelling power of this voice. I have gone on fighting with my propaganda, simply because I could not rest otherwise. Something is driving me on. If this is egotism, then the truth must be that I have succeeded in deceiving myself. But I assure you the only answer I got within myself is the call of the voice which will not allow me to retire. And to-day, weak and weary and old though I am, I feel the strength of a million men within me. Do you think it is egotism that I should follow this voice because I must ?

There is no option left to me ; no choice I assure you: if there had been any choice, instead of taking all this trouble in the heat and in the dust of political strife I should have gone away from you altogether and devoted my energies to other things which I love just as well. I cannot rest because I cannot. If this

is egotism, time will cast me away; but if it is the result of my surrender to the higher cause and the higher purpose, time will vindicate my activity. I am always willing to rest my cause there. If it is vanity, may God prove it so and my activity may wither away. If it is something planted within my heart by a higher agency, may time prove the worth of that activity. In the meantime, in the name of my country and in the name of humanity and God, I must continue to fight as the voice calls me. If I hurt you, brothers, believe me it is because I must. If I offend you, it is because I cannot help it. I am for truth and the whole truth. It is the truth of nationalism to which I shall always appeal, as long as I am alive.

Truth about Congress work

For God's sake, realise the truth about the Congress activity to-day. It is with profound gratitude that I turn to this passage in the citizens' address.—"Indians are under a great debt of gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi and to you whose work will be appreciated in future when they take a dispassionate view of the development of the national movement during the last three years." I know you cannot take a dispassionate view now nor can I. All that I want from you to-day is a solemn pledge that the work which you have undertaken and in which you feel the salvation of the country lies, requires far more energy than you are giving to-day. It is on this that the salvation of the country depends. It does not lie on any particular programme. It lies in the activity, the energy and the sincerity of your convictions. If you believe in the boycott of Councils, in the way

the Congress resolution suggests, it is your bounden duty to go on boycotting the Councils. If I feel deeply that that method of Council-boycott is futile, it is my duty to go on pushing forward my programme as best as I can. There is no middle course between my programme and your programme. Either I must bend to you or you must bend to me. At the same time I warn those who want to obstruct the elections, to do so on their own responsibility, on their own strength and not try to drag the Congress institution into it. I welcome that activity. Because, after all, the ultimate verdict lies in the hands of the country. It is the fight about methods; and it is for the country to declare which method it accepts. What I object to is the introduction of irrelevant topics into it.

Rescue the Congress from Death

Discussion of vedantic philosophy is always interesting but allow me to say it is utterly irrelevant. There is no difference as to the goal between the Congress and myself. There is no difference as regards the only method of attaining it. The difference lies in the particular items of work which have got to be undertaken now in order to generate that power, that force and strength in the nation which will make them capable of applying non-violent Non-Co-operation. The question is how best to do it. It is only the strong that can apply non-violent Non-Co-operation. It is easy for the weak to imitate that. There may be a kind of non-violent Non-co-operation which is not non-violent and which is not Non-Co-operation; but which is the cessation of life. It is against

that, that I protest. It is the attitude of mind which revels in metaphysical disquisitions which refuses to act when the interests of the country demand action. That is the spirit through the working of which great philosophies in the country and great ideas have come down to the dust. I want you to rescue the Congress from that degeneration. If you can show me to-day activity which is living, activity which marches on from point to point in the path of Swarajya, I should willingly and gladly, in all the humility of my heart, withdraw my programme from the country. If I find all around me dead *mantrams* and no life, how can you expect me to follow this ideal of non-violent Non-Co-operation? It is this very ideal which calls upon me to reject the activity which is dead and reject the words which are lifeless. At Gaya we passed the resolution calling upon the people to carry on boycott of law courts, schools and colleges and councils. Did we mean it? How is it that not one item of work has been done with regard to the first two items? What answer is then? What answer has been made up to now? There is only an attempt made.—"Nobody was asking the students to stay in colleges; and therefore it is unnecessary for the Congress to take active measures to carry on boycott of schools and colleges"—Is that argument or is that sophistry? Is it or is it not true that each item of boycott has not materialised? There are two courses open under those circumstances. Either you say you are incapable of that higher sacrifice and therefore turn to another kind of activity or you go on asking the stu-

dents to come out of their institutions, You will excuse me; I am trying to show how you are dying and are dead when you are thinking of living.

Have you seen the Vaishnava counting his beads, at the same time thinking how to get over his customers? He is doing it by force of habit. The inspiration of the *mantram* is dead. Will you carry on Congress work in that spirit? Am I to take it that the inspiration of those *mantrams* (Congress Resolutions) is dead? If so why are you not man enough to stand up and admit it? If not, why not be man enough to carry on boycott? Is any other course open to honest men ? I venture to deny it. As long as you claim for the Indian National Congress the right to represent the people of India, so long any Indian has got a right to ask you to discharge the duties which you took upon yourselves. Either you give up the claim or carry that work through. I have got the right to call upon you to prove true to your word; and to keep alive the responsibility of the Congress by deeds and not by words.

Council Boycott

Now to the question of boycott of Councils. Did you mean it or did you not? Did you merely give expression to that craving of weakness which demands you repeat what you stated the previous year? Stated in that bald form the proposition 'I Know,' sounds offensive. Yet, have I not the right to dive within your hearts to see the unseen thing which is behind this persistence in resolutions? Where was any talk of any activity before I raised this question? I do believe if I had not raised this question of Council-entry, no Congressman

would have lifted up his little finger to obstruct the elections. The boycott of Councils would have stood on the same footing as the boycott of schools and colleges and the boycott of law courts. It would have been easier for my work; but I do not want to work in the dark. The Council is not my objective. My objective is the people of this country. I want them therefore to shake off this lethargy, this tired feeling which has crept over their limits. I want to make them alive to-day and prove themselves to be human beings and stand erect in the light of God. I do not seek a dead dull uniformity. Even if the result of my intervention be, that the Congressmen have really roused themselves from slumber and they would go to the voters and ask them not to vote and otherwise carry on this obstruction actively, I should think I have secured a victory (Hear, hear and applause) If I have thought of Council-entry, it is with that purpose. It is not on this programme or that, that the salvation of the country lies. I can assure you programmes never make men. It is men who make programmes. I want Congressmen to be men now and to get rid of the habit of drifting. As I said before if they really believe—and real belief implies soul-power,—that the salvation of the country lies in obstructing elections let them obstruct. But merely indulging in words will not help them to destroy the Councils.

In a spirit of humility, love of country, truth, and reverence. I say if you examine the position in the country I venture to hope you cannot come to any other conclusion than the one I have placed before you.

AT GUNTUR

Guntur has been an active centre of non-co-operation. But Desabandhu Das did not want it to be a mere memory. So he asks the people of Guntur, not to be daunted by failures but to go on failure to success. He frankly challenges the orthodox Congressmen of Guntur to say what they have done to promote the boycott of Schools and Colleges and Courts, which they adopted at Guntur.

He bitterly points out that Congressmen instead of fighting the Bureaucracy are engaged in fighting him and his programme. He explains how, in spite of Nagpur, the country is not now ready for mass civil disobedience. He exclaims with convincing pathos, "I shall, when the time comes, lay down my life to you, and God knows I am true to my word."

Answering the argument that non-co-operation must be placed, in its undiluted form, as an ideal before the people, Desabandhu Das says that his party also regards non-violent non-co-operation as the only method of attaining Swaraj, but asks the pertinent question : " Do you seriously think that the Congress should recommend year after year such steps as the people refuse to accept ?" That is why he places his practical political programme before the country, of Congressmen capturing the Councils and using them in the country's fight for Swaraj.

Desabandhu Das was considerably heckled at this meeting. But he is an intrepid fighter. He knows his mind. He is fearless. He is optimistic. That is why he says : "I know the time is coming when you will listen to me." It is but fit that his last speech in his tour in the Madras Presidency should end in this optimistic vein. It is up to Madras to show that Desabandhu's optimism is justified.

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Desabandhu Das at Guntur

DESABANDHU Das was presented with four welcome addresses at Guntur. In replying, he thanked the people for the addresses. He read in them, the truth of all truths regarding their national life, that a movement always moved. One kind of view was put forward in one address and a contrary view in another address, which proved to him that it was a movement in which they were engaged. In one address it was said that they were filled with joy and also diffidence. He understood the joy and exaltation of battle and he invited them to it. He would ask them to cast off diffidence. Whatever might be their view, let them stand firm and not lifeless. Directly they ceased to move, they stagnated; and the beautiful movement which was ushered in under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi would become degenerated. In one of the addresses a note of warning was sounded and the possibility of false steps was suggested. But from the point of view of life no steps which were taken sincerely could ever be false. Successes were based on failures. In what sense could they say that the non-co-operation movement had succeeded? Could anybody doubt it had succeeded? What was it which had succeeded, except the spirit which the movement had evoked, the struggle which the nation had undertaken and the very failures upon which it had ventured to stand?

Failures and Success

The greatness of a nation did not depend on never failing but in rising every time it failed. That was the

note of warning he had come to give them. Let them shrink not from failures, for failures were bound to come. Let them overcome the failures and stand with the dignity of fighters. Let them take correct steps or incorrect steps, true or false steps ; but let them move on from point to point. He would advise them to be true to themselves, to take up life as they found it and proceed with the battle they had begun. He had given them one programme. If it did not appeal to them let them choose another. Programmes were merely outward forms ; it was the life which counted : and it was the movement which mattered. Programmes might be invented and programmes might be useless. And if this movement was a living movement, it must go on. He solemnly warned them that if they allowed the movemnnt to die out, they were committing the greatest crime that had ever been committed in the history of mankind. That was what they were going to do.

Guntur, he wastold, was a landmark in the history of non-violent war. But let it not be a mere memory. He wanted to see more life and he was not content to hear that there was life some time ago. He wanted to see the spirit of battle manifest itself within them. If his programme was not acceptable to them, he had at any rate the right to demand from them a programme. Indecision and hesitation were fatal to their cause. What were they going to do ?—was the question he had to come to put to them, accompanied with the warning that unless they got up and went on with the movement, the movement would die and with it they would be dead. It was said that success did not

depend on the number of charkas. No doubt mere numbers signified nothing but if the only activity which was manifest to-day was charka, did it not depend on the number of charkas? All round, he did not hear the sound of life but saw the stillness of death and when at the same time they persisted in saying that the movement was going on, how was he to know it unless he counted the charkas?

The Failing Movement

'At Gaya you solemnly passed resolutions recommending the boycott of schools and colleges. Did you mean it? If you did not, you are unworthy of the movement because you revel in shows and put forward before the country a pretence. If you meant it what have you done? Has anybody here in Guntur raised his little finger to boycott schools and colleges? I want a clear answer. You make the Indian National Congress give some advice to the people of this country and you do not raise your little finger to see that that advice is carried out. Who is hurting the Congress? You or I? What will the Indian people say of this Congress which year after year passes solemn resolutions and refuses to move their little fingers to support what they pass? Is there any surer way of dragging down the movement to the dust? Not one of you would have done anything, had I not started this movement. When you find me taking up the cause, you find in me a lost battle. This battle is not against the Bureaucracy; but against me. For Bureaucrats you have nothing but admiration and love (cries of no, no,). Well, I hear no, no, but I should like you to

say if you are fighting the Bureaucracy to-day, Is it merely a luxury of thought ? For God's sake do you not see you must fight the Bureaucracy from everywhere. (A voice—What do you say of Nagpur flag fight ?) I do not wish to say anything. If you want me to deal with it, I shall. You said you are fighting with Bureaucracy. I do not regard it as a fight.

The Nagpur Fight

"I will deal with that point. I am afraid of nothing and have never been afraid of anything. (Applause) I can look the peoole in the face because I am not ashamed of anything. I ask you to note when the Nagpur movement was started. How many men have gone to Nagpur ? That is a question I am entitled to ask. (A voice—We are going to send four now and eight more very shortly). How many ? (Another voice—As many as are wanted at Nagpur.) I am not a child ; you do not tell me that men are not wanted at Nagpur. I have myself carried on civil disobedience and I know what it means. Tell that to those who are ignorant of what civil disobedience means. I am only surprised that you gloat over this. Just show to me—I will withdraw my programme—a thousand men going to prison every day ; and then talk of civil disobedience. (A voice—Why not you try ?) I do not try because you have not got the spirit. If you are prepared to fight, I should like to see you do it (Voices—We are prepared here and now to start). How many ? (Voices again—In hundreds and even thousands if necessary). I want those who are prepared to go to jail at Nagpur in the flag fight to stand up.

(Twenty young men immediately rose to their feet. Mr. Das counts he number). Well, I think I am justified in saying that that spirit which manifested itself when thousands and thousands of youngmen were going to jail the other day is not in this country at present. (A voice—If you lead, hundreds and thousands will be coming). You say you are prepared to go to Nagpur if I lead you ; but you forget that I am not going to lead you, unless I find the necessary atmosphere in the country. I did lead once because I felt that spirit in the atmosphere. I find it absent now. You create that atmosphere ; that is all I want. As long as that atmosphere is not created, I shall not lead a movement like that. I shall, when the time comes, lay down even my life for you and God knows I am true to my word.

The Ideal and Action

Mr. Gopalakrishnayya. "We have presented the ideal of Non-co-operation to the people. We are not going to dilute it. The nation has got to work up to it."

Mr. Das—This defence I have heard everywhere and I am perfectly familiar with it. But is that enough ? The holding up of the ideal, nobody will dispute. Even the Swarajya party, which you do not like, has as its first principle the attainment of Swaraj, as the only end, and non-violent non-co-operation as the only method. Their idea of politics is that not only you must lay down the ideal, but also the successive stages through which people can actually work in order to get that. Is it or is it not for the Indian National Congress to lay down practical steps which

people are to take immediately and at once? Do you seriously think that the Congress should recommend year after year such steps as the people refuse to accept? Will it or will it not affect the prestige of the Congress in the long run? To my mind the only course is to get ready and gather strength to fight the Bureaucracy. Your whole national life is to-day under a cloud, because of the super-imposition upon it of a foreign Bureaucracy. You cannot proceed on the path of Swaraj unless you are prepared at every step to get rid of the obstacle which obstructs your path. That is the task to which I invite you. I know many of you will not listen to me to-day. But I know—I have that conviction within me which urges me on. The time is coming when you will listen to me.

Mr. Das's Supporters

To-day I can count my supporters by thousands in India: and to-morrow I shall get the majority within the Congress to support me. If you are opposed to me I invite you to the struggle; and to put forth your best against my programme, because that is due to honest convictions. Whether I am right or you are right, I leave it to the verdict of the country. I am an impassioned advocate to-day; so are you. Those who are against me will not probably see the point in my propaganda; and probably I shall not see its defects because I am full of it. Therefore discussion is more than useless. I am prepared to awaken within you that spirit which will not rest content with passing resolutions but will demand acting up to those Resolutions. I do not care whether that is a right step

or wrong step. Once that spirit is awakened, I know where it will lead you to. It will lead you to the battlefield which is arranged in front of you. You will then not stop on each step and enter into metaphysical disquisitions as to whether it is non-co-operation or co-operation or what. You will be afire with the spirit of battle. I give you this warning out of the innermost recesses of my heart. Unless you are prepared to fight the Bureaucracy and put forth your best in the struggle, you will never succeed in attaining Swaraj.

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